

SHIVAJI.

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PREFACE.

It is a misfortune of the Maratha nation that their history is not yet written by a man, who is in close touch with the daily life of the people, living mostly in villages, almost scattered over the country. The Maharashtra of today is really a development of Maharashtra as made by Shivaji ; and to know ourselves better, with a view to direct our future activities for the good of the people at large, it is necessary to know the life of Shivaji with all its details. There is again a tendency, seen in the refined peoples of other parts of India, to speak ill of the Marathas and their nation. They are a poor people and have some peculiar notions of greatness and personal freedom. Their good qualities lie hidden under their external boisterous appearance. Besides the nation is divided in itself. The Marathas (of the caste), who form the bulk of the population, have many good qualities, but they are not appreciated by others. Shivaji was a leader of the whole nation. Under him the nation, being united, was able to withstand the Moghals. The Muhammadans of the south were not opposed to Shivaji and wanted to keep the Deccan separate and not absorbed in the Moghal Empire.

that he was the real maker of Maharashtra. Grant Duff has done a splendid service to the nation by writing his history. Attempts have been made to collect materials for the history, but a short concise narrative of Shivaji's life and doings is not yet attempted. To the people of Maharashtra Shivaji is a deity, very few persons know anything about his great work. To others Shivaji is a plunderer and a leader of a rowdy nation, and so they care very little to read of the doings of Shivaji. The Maratha States of Gwalior, Indore and Baroda outside Maharashtra are looked upon as small principalities, left after a deluge caused by a mighty plundering nation.

My attempt in publishing this book, is to place before the public a short life of Shivaji and to dispel some misconceptions about the national hero of Maharashtra. I believe that the Bukhar, or Chronicle, written by Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad at Jinji in 1694, where he was one of the courtiers of Rajaram, is an authentic work and does much credit to the writer's historical sense. Writers of other Bukhars do not show capacity to know the relative importance of events and are not a very reliable source of information. Other materials, brought to light by many eminent persons of Maharashtra, are more detailed in character and more-varied in information and will, certainly, enable a writer to speak with authority on the civil administration of Shivaji, if any shows sufficient patience to go through them all. The only book, which gives, in clear chronological order, the events of Shivaji's life, is Prof. J. Sarkar's "Shivaji And His Times." I

humbly acknowledge the great help which has been rendered to me by the work of Prof. Sarkar ; the varied and voluminous information, put together in a clear continuous narrative, has enabled me to follow the thread of Shivaji's life on a firmer ground. Lastly the work written by Mr. C. A., Kincaid, C.V.O., I.C.S., for which information was supplied by Rao Bahadur Parasnis of Satara, is also a valuable addition to the literature on the history of Maharashtra. Thanking all these writers for the strenuous efforts in publishing the history of Shivaji's life, I beg to offer my book to the public and beg to request my readers to bring to my notice any misstatement of facts. I am responsible for my views, some of which are really at variance with those of others; however I shall be ever ready to hear of arguments likely to disprove my theories.

I gratefully acknowledge my thanks to Mr. Hari Ganesh Kolhatkar, the owner of the Press for the nice and careful printing and to Mr. A. K. Thakur, B.A., for correcting the proofsheets.

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CHAPTER I.

GEOGRAPHY.

Maharashtra, or the land of the Marathas, is a rugged mountainous country, full of mountain ranges, hills and river valleys. It is a tableland rising 2,000 feet above the sea level except in the north where the Tapi valley is at a little lower elevation. Konkan or the western part of Maharashtra is also a low-lying plain along the sea-coast. It is bounded on the north by the Satpuda range running from Nandod, lying at a distance of a few miles from Surat, eastward far away into the high-lands of Chhatisgad. The Satpudas rise abruptly from the low narrow valley of the Narmada to a height of 4,000 feet and are a continuous chain for the first 200 miles from Nandod to Asirgad. At Asirgad there is a deep gap in the range, through which the great railway line, connecting the Deccan with the north, runs into the Narmada valley and which the Muhammadan historians rightly call "Dakhan-ki-Vesa" or gate of the Deccan. Beyond this gap of Asirgad, the Satpudas widen into wild highlands, traversed in different directions by many ranges of hills, locally known by different names of the Mahadev, Pachmadhi, Beilul, Gawilgad and other ranges.

The coast line from the Portuguese settlement of Daman to Karwar in the south forms the western boundary of Maharashtra. On the east of North Maharashtra stretches, beyond the fertile valley of the Vainganga, the hilly tract of Chhatisgad, running from Amarkantak and other hills in the Mandla district, in the north to the wild and mountainous regions of the Bastar state in the south. The eastern boundary of South Maharashtra, including the upper valleys of the Godavari and the Krishna and their tributaries, is not well marked by a chain of mountains or a river: with the same physical aspects the country runs into Telingana to the east of the upper Godavari valley, and into Karnatik to the south-east of the upper Bhima and the Krishna valleys. The Sawandhri hills, running east and west from the Pranhita river to the Fort of Mahoor and a rough line, running north and south drawn across the Godavari valley from Mahoor to Bidar in the hilly regions forming the watershed between the Godavari and the Bhima, separate Telingana from Maharashtra. The boundary between Maharashtra and Karnatik is also not well marked, and a rough line drawn from Bidar to Karwar, first across the Bhima valley and then across the Krishna valley, forms the southern or Karnatik boundary.

The country enclosed within these limits is extremely hilly. The main range of mountains is the Western Ghats or the Sahyadri. From the Tapi to Cape Camorin, the range runs along the western coast at a distance of thirty

to forty miles. The name Sahyadri is specially applied to that portion of the range between the Tapi and Palghat gap. It is a continuous range and runs across Maharashtra and Karnatik. From the low-lying plain of Konkan, the range rises to a height of 4,000 feet and forms the western edge of the Deccan tableland. The central belt of the range, with a width of not more than twenty-five miles, is called by the Marathas Ghat-Matha or top of the Ghats. It is the most rugged region of Maharashtra. A series of innumerable lofty hills, separated by deep narrow river valleys, presents a view, the grandeur of which cannot be described in words. The hill sides covered with perpetual forest overhang the valleys below, which are known as Khores to the Marathas, and form a beautiful fringe round the fertile fields belonging to the inhabitants of villages built close to the banks of streams, which with their winding courses rush down from the sides of the hills to fertilize the soil and to make habitation possible. Wherever in the valleys a sufficiently wide space, by the side of a stream, is available for cultivation, villages and hamlets have grown up, inhabited by the hardy race of Maharashtra. In some places, where the hills do not form even for a short distance, a continuous chain and where the soil along the stream is not very fertile, the land, being as if heaved up and studded with low hills, presents an appearance of a rugged waving plain where subsistence is secured with much toil. These places are called Mawals and the inhabitants Mawales.

The western side of the Ghats presents an appearance of a hilly wall rising abruptly from Konkan, which is, however, not a flat country but is remarkably rugged and broken, interspersed with huge blocks of mountains and thick jungles. The streams rush down the mountain side almost to the level of the sea and thence, in picturesque meandering courses, find their way to the sea. The tides rush through these rivers and all along Konkan creeks are visible, at the mouths of which good harbours are formed. Often these creeks are overhung by hills and forts, the heights of which make them secure places of resort.

In the east beyond the Ghatmatha, the land continues to be a tableland, though the hills overhanging the river valleys run a short distance to the east and then imperceptibly merge in the highlands of the Deccan. This eastern portion of Maharashtra is called 'Desha' or the country. It is a wide extensive plain, though not at all level as the plain of northern India. It is a waving tableland, with hills here and there, separating the country into well-marked Mahals, districts or smaller sub-divisions. Ups and downs are also so numerous that it may be said, as in the case of Konkan and Ghatmatha, that every village or town is well-marked on its boundaries by a high-land covered with hard rocky soil and not fit for cultivation. Almost every village in Maharashtra has three belts of lands. The central part, which is generally chosen for habitation, is called 'Gavthan' or the village site. The second belt consists of the cultiv

able land and the third belt is the waste upland, commonly known as Gavran or Gairan, the village, meadow or the grazing meadow for cows. The village site is often a high ground surrounded by a mud wall or an ordinary hedge of prickly plants. However, the villages in this eastern region, having extensive cultivable land attached to them, are very populous and grow vast quantities of corn for the support of themselves and of the western rugged regions.

The Vainganga, the Tapi, the Godavari, the Bhima and the Krishna are the five principal rivers of Maharashtra. The valleys of these five rivers, together with Konkan, form the six great divisions of the country. Except the Vainganga valley and Konkan, the four great valleys run east and west, almost parallel to each other, and are separated by ranges of mountains, which run at right angles from the Western Ghats. The Chandore or the Ajuntha range separates the Tapi valley from the Godavari valley. The Balaghat divides the Godavari and the Bhima valleys, and the Shambhu Mahadev range lies to the north of the Krishna valley bordered on the west by the line of Sahyadri. All except the Tapi valley slope to the east and are completely defenceless on their eastern borders. But the Tapi valley is well-defended even on the west, towards which it slopes, as the northern spurs of the Sahyadri run, in the north to the left bank of the Tapi and the Satpudas spread their arms along the right bank of the river. These chains of mountains, forming, as they do, lines of defence, protect the country from invasion,

and from very old days the few passes, that cross these lines, are commanded by forts and fortified hills. In the middle of the valley the river flows, and along either bank the soil is very fertile and grows a large quantity of corn sufficient to maintain a very large population. As we proceed further away from the banks, the country assumes a rugged appearance; and low ranges of hills and waving uplands covered with hard soil are visible. But here also in the rugged parts the land is furrowed, as it were, with narrow valleys of small tributaries that flow in numbers from the interspersed hills. As we near the mountains, valleys, that multiply in numbers, become smaller and smaller, till we reach spots where one small valley gives room only sufficient for the settlement of a village.

The character of a people is generally determined by the nature of the land and other physical features. Nature in Maharashtra is not very favourable for the growth of rich crops and a luxurious people. Every man, and even every woman in the most hilly parts, has to work hard to gain bare living, work is considered honourable and there is no class in the country corresponding to the landlords in other parts of India. The Maratha chiefs did not own the land, but they were mere leaders of the people, receiving a small share of the produce of the soil. Besides, the sterility of the soil and difficulty of roads and communication across hills and dales, have prevented the development of a rich commercial class. All these causes have given rise to a sense of social

equality and consequently pride in the dignity of man as man. The isolated valleys and villages have further engendered a sense of freedom, which is not found elsewhere in India. Every village or township is, by the very nature of its situation, required to be self-sufficient and a village organization based on social equality has been formed, which has made the people of Maharashtra a free people.

On account of the ranges of mountains and interspersed hills, it is difficult, nay almost impossible, for a general however great his fame may be, to occupy the whole country. And except the present rulers of India and the Yadavs of old, the whole of Maharashtra had never been under one rule. The upper valleys of all the rivers had successfully withstood external attacks and had been separate principalities under some Maratha chiefs during the long occupation of the Deccan by the Muhammadans. No ruler of northern India was ever successful in establishing his rule in Maharashtra, as the Marathas from their mountain fastnesses could easily defy the northern armies. The Moghuls took a full century to conquer the powers of the Deccan and even then were unable to retain the conquest even for a very few years. The conqueror from the north naturally enters Maharashtra through the Asirgad gap, but before he consolidates his power in the Tapi valley, the Marathas from their hilly tracts in Gavilgad, Painghat and Baglana harass him on all sides, and unless he orders a covering move from Guzerath it becomes impossible for him to

cross the Ajuntha range, the second line of defence. The Marathas easily retire into the wild regions of the Western Ghats and the conqueror finds an easy conquest of Telingana or the lower Godavari and of Karnatik or the lower Bhima valley. The upper courses of the rivers in Maharashtra, guarded by strong hill-forts, are left in possession of the Maratha Chiefs.

after a reign of 24 years he departed this life in the year 1557. The reign of his son, Ally Adil Shah, is full of stirring events. It was during his reign that a confederacy of Muhammadan Kings was formed to put down the Hindu power of Vijaynagar. In 1665 the Vijaynagar forces were utterly routed on the famous battle field of Talicot and the Muhammedans, flushed with victory, marched on the capital and razed it to the ground. Ally Adil Shah pursued the Hindus into the heart of the Karnatik, but he had to wage an unceasing war with the Hindus, till his assassination in 1579 by a eunuch, whom he had forced against his inclination to come from Bidar.

Ibrahim Adil Shah II, a nephew of the king, was raised to the throne and, as he was only 9 years old, the care of his education was entrusted to Chand Beebee, late King's widow. As had been frequently the case in similar circumstances, the minister Kamil Khan, endeavoured to usurp the chief authority. But the Queen proved powerful and Kamil was removed from office and when he revolted, he was pursued, overtaken and killed. The new minister, Kishlvarkhan, also aimed at independent authority and confined Chand Beebee in the fort of Satara. But his acts of violence rendered him highly unpopular, plots were made against his life, and he would have fallen a victim to the fury of the populace; but he escaped to Ahmednagar, where receiving only a cool reception, he proceeded to Golconda, and there he was murdered. The Queen, on being released from

Satara, proceeded to Bijapur and in 1584 went to Ahmednagar with princess Khodeja, betrothed to the son of her brother Moortuza Nizam Shah. In 1587 Ibrahim declared his independence and entered on the administration of public affairs with great ability and success.

Ibrahim, was the greatest Adil Shahy King, except perhaps the founder of the family. He applied himself to civil affairs and the land settlement of the provinces of his Kingdom, shows an admirable and efficient system of registration of property and valuation. He was extremely tolerant of all creeds and faiths. Hindus not only suffered no persecution at his hands, but many of his chief civil and military officers were Brahmins and Marathas. He died in 1626 and his mausoleum, which is still perfect, is one of the most elaborate specimens of Indian architecture. He was succeeded by his son Mohammad who was then in his sixteenth year.

After the assassination of his father, Mullik Ahmed declared his independence at Junnar, but had to face a strong army of principal nobles of Bidar. But the generals despatched against him, were successively defeated and on May 28, 1490 Mullik Ahmed gained a decisive victory on the plain near the town of Bhingar, which was commemorated by the erection of a palace, surrounded by a garden and park. Junnar was the capital of his new Kingdom, but it was inconvenient in many respects and was not sufficiently central. Besides Ahmed had determined to gain possession of Daulatabad and its

dependencies, the broad and fertile valley of the upper Godavari. He, therefore, fixed upon a spot near Bhingar where he had already erected a palace and made it his capital. The position of Ahmednagar was in every point of view an excellent one. It commands all the passes into Khandesh and Daulatabad, and its elevation near the crest of one of the principal Deccan ranges of hills running across the plains facilitates military operations in all directions.

Mullik Ahmed, after defeating the generals from Bidar, marched on Daulatabad but the governor applied to the King of Guzrath for help, when a large army entered Khandesh near Sultanpur. Ahmed Nizam Shah retired to the south and the governor of Daulatabad accepting the suzerainty of the King of Guzrath, read, in the principal mosque at Daulatabad, the Khoodba in his name. The garrison of Daulatabad, principally the Marathas, were indignant at the idea of becoming tributary to the King of Guzrath, and after the death of the governor, delivered up the keys into the hands of the King of Ahmednagar. The possession of Daulatabad, with its large dependencies, very much increased the King's power. He then reduced the Raja of Laglan and forced him to pay tribute. In 1508 the King fell ill and died in the course of a year.

Ahmed Nizam Shah was succeeded by his son Boorham Nizam Shah, then a boy of seven years old. In 1510 the Kingdom was placed in some danger on

account of an invasion by the Berar King, but the governor of Paranda, who though partially independent, was yet tributary to Ahmednagar, defeated the invaders and pushed them back into Berar. In 1523 the King was married at Sholapur to a sister of Ismal Adil Shah : the fort of Sholapur, though promised by the King of Bijapur, not being ceded, war broke out with that state; and Ahmednagar had to face a formidable confederacy of the Kings of Berar, Khandesh and Guzrath. The King was defeated but an honourable peace was concluded with the Sultan of Guzrath. Boorham Nizam Shah after having reduced the rebel Maratha chiefs, enjoyed a period of peace and prosperity till 1542. When he declared war against Bijapur he occupied the districts of Paranda and Sholapur, the acquisition of which was always in dispute between the two states, and which constantly changed hands in the course of the 16th century. The King of Bidar invaded Ahmednagar, but being defeated was pursued into his own territory, and had to lose the forts of Owsa and Kandhar. The war between Bijapur and Ahmednagar continued and Boorham besieged the Adil Shahy capital, but being taken ill, he returned to his capital where he died in 1553.

Hoosen Nizam Shah succeeded his father in the 13th year of his age. On his accession, some nobles took up the cause of his brother and revolted. The revolt was put down but again war with Bijapur followed, in which the Vijaynagar forces also took part on the side of the Adil Shah. The danger was imminent and Hoosen

begged for peace, which being granted, it was stipulated that the fort of Kalliany should be ceded to the Adil Shah and that the Ahmednagar King should receive a pan from Ramraj, King of Vijaynagar. In 1562 an attempt to recover Kalliany failed and Ali Adil Shah and Ramraj invaded Ahmednagar territories. It was in the midst of these struggles and perpetual broils that a sudden alliance of the five Kings of the Deccan, was formed against Ramraj. Hoosen Nizam Shah did not survive to share the spoils of Vijaynagar and died, soon after the battle of Talhar in 1565.

He was succeeded by his son Moortaza Nizam Shah then a minor, whose mother undertook the regency assisted by her brothers. Moortaza, after assuming charge of the state affairs, marched into Berar, defeated the Imad Shahy forces and occupied the whole province. The King of Berar soon after died and Berar was annexed by Moortaza in 1572. He ruled till 1586 when he was murdered by his son, Meeran Hoosen Nizam Shah who after securing the throne, began his reign by tyranny and oppression. His minister seized and imprisoned him in 1588 and Prince Ismail, then in his 12th year being brought from Lohgad, where he was living in confinement with his father Boorhan, the paternal uncle of the King was placed on the throne.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MOGHAL INVASION.

Ahmednagar was now in a state of revolt. Boorhan fled into the Moghal camp in the north and Akbar promised him help and the Adil Shahy Sultan also took up his cause. But the Ahmednagar nobles entered the unhappy civil war and Ismail was strongly supported by them. But Boorhan with the Moghals marched into the Deccan, captured Ahmednagar and deposed his son after a nominal reign of 2 years and ascended the throne in 1591. In the very next year the Portuguese attacked, and captured Revadunda, when the Muhammadan governor and his family were taken prisoners and having become Christians, went to Portugal.

In 1594 the King died, declaring his son Ibrahim to be his successor. Ibrahim peacefully ascended the throne, but in an affray between the parties at Ahmednagar the Bijapur ambassador was killed and a war broke out between those rival states. In the battle, which was fought between the armies of those states, Ibrahim was shot in the forehead, and died instantly. His body was taken to Ahmednagar, and a boy named Ahmed, supposed to be a descendant of the royal family, and who had been confined at Daulatabad, was sent for and proclaimed King, while Ibrahim's infant son, Bahadur, being removed from the charge of his aunt, was despatched to a distant fortress Chawand.

The succession of Ahmed was disputed by Yekhlās Khan, who then raised a rebellion and proclaimed another boy as King. The nobles, who supported Ahmed, invited Prince Moorad Mirza a son of Akbar, the Moghal viceroy of Guzrath to come into the Deccan to support the cause of Ahmed. Prince Moorad already in possession of his father's instruction to advance into Deccan on any reasonable pretext marched at once for Ahmednagar. The nobles, who called him, had retrieved their position and desired to stay the Prince's progress, but the Moghals continuing their march, they made arrangements to defend Ahmednagar and their leader departed to implore assistance of the Kings of Golconda and Bijapur against the common enemy, the Moghals. The Queen-Dowager, Chand Beebee, who considered the infant Bahadur the rightful heir to the throne, collected a strong party around her and prepared to defend the fort to the last. Meanwhile the Moghals having defeated a Nizam Shahy army on the bank of the Godavari, marched to Ahmednagar and laid siege to the city. Ibrahim Adil Shah despatched his able general to Naldoorg with 25,000 horse where he was joined by the Nizam Shahy nobles and a contingent of 6,000 horse from Golconda.

Hearing of the assembling of these forces the Prince Moorad now pressed the siege with ardour. Mines were laid under the bastions of the city walls and charged ready for explosion. The Moghal general called upon the garrison to surrender, but the Queen-Dowager would hear of no terms; she began counter-mines, herself

working with the men. Two mines were discovered and destroyed, but the Moghals fired the train and some of the wall fell with the explosion. The Moghals advanced through the breach, but the heroic queen defended the place and beat back the enemy with immense loss. The breach was soon built up and Chand Beebee despatched letters to the Bijapur general to advance to her relief. As the Deccan forces advanced, they cut off the supplies of provisions to the Moghal camp, whereupon Prince Moorad made overtures to the queen offering to quit the country, if Berar were ceded to him. This, at first, she refused, but her allies were still distant and even if they did arrive, the result of an engagement between them and the Moghal veterans was very doubtful. She therefore signed the treaty and Prince Moorad marched unmolested to take possession of Berar. There he built the town of Shahpur near Balapur and formed cantonments in that place. On this spot he espoused the daughter of the ruler of Khandesh and sub-divided the province of Berar among his chiefs.

Chand Beebee sent for the infant Bahadur and caused him to be crowned at Ahmednagar; but the state was doomed. Mahmud Khan, whom she appointed as minister, set her at defiance and rebelled against her authority. But with the help of a Bijapur army she defeated the traitor, who now wrote to Moghal commander in Berar offering his own assistance to subdue the whole of the Ahmednagar Kingdom. The Moghals, setting aside the treaty, continued the war and occupied some

districts not included in the cession of Berar. The nobles of Ahmednagar and Bijapur marched to expel the Moghals from the Deccan. The armies met at Soopa on the bank of the Godavari on December 27, 1596. The action was well fought on both sides, it was in fact a national contest for superiority. It was a two days' engagement; on the second day, the famous Bijapur general, being severely wounded, fell from his horse. He was borne off the field and his troops believing him dead, followed. The Moghals thus kept possession of the field of battle, but were unable to pursue any advantage they had thus gained, and returned to Prince Moorad who was at Shahpur, his cantonment in Berar. Prince Moorad reduced Narnala, Gawilgad, Kehrla and other mountain forts of the province. Having already married the daughter of Bahadurkhan Farooky of Khandesh, he established a local court in the new province. The climate of Berar did not, however, suit him, and he fell ill and died at Shahpur in May 1599. Akbar despatched a fresh army into Berar under Prince Daniel and followed him by easy stages to the Deccan and shortly arrived at Burhanpur.

Meanwhile the affairs at Ahmednagar continued in the same distracted condition. On the Moghal advance from Berar, the minister made an ineffective attempt to oppose them and fled to Junnar and Ahmednagar was again invested. The Queen once more defended it bravely, but she had now no dependence upon the garrison and openly gave her opinion that it would be

better to accept terms and carry the young king to Junnar. But one of the garrison, having heard of the opinion, rushed into private apartments and put the royal lady to death. After her death, the Moghals pressed the siege more rapidly and with one onslaught captured the city, putting the garrison to the sword. The infant King, with all the members of the royal family, was now a prisoner in the hands of the victors, who now sent them all to the Imperial camp at Burhanpur, eventually to be confined in the fort of Gwalior.

After the return of Akbar Padshah, two persons distinguished themselves by their enterprise and conduct. The one was Malik Ambar and the other Mean Rajoo Deccany, who, in spite of the Moghal forces, retained almost the whole of Nizam Shahy dominions. Malik Ambar held the country from Bijapur and Golconda boundaries as far north as within koss of Bid, and four of Ahmednagar and from eight koss west of Daulatabad to within the same distance of the port of Choul. Mean Rajoo possessed Daulatabad and the whole country from the Guzrath frontier to within a six koss of Ahmednagar. Both professed allegiance to Moortza Nizam Shah II, son of Shah Ally, who had been declared king by the Nizam Shahy nobles at Paranda on the fall of Ahmednagar. To him they gave up the fort of Owsa for residence and the revenues of a few of the surrounding villages for his subsistence. But these generals being known envious of each other, Khan Khanan the Moghal

general advanced from Berar and occupied a district belonging to Mallik Ambar. At Nanded, Mallik Ambar sustained a defeat and accepted the offer of peace made by the Moghal general and a treaty was concluded which marked out their respective future boundaries.

Meanwhile, the Farooky King of Khandesh had evinced a rebellious spirit, and Akbar himself proceeded to Burhanpur, whence he directed the siege of Aseergad. Eventually the fort was surrendered to him, with the accumulated wealth of the ancient Hindu as well as the Muhammadan dynasties.

Khandesh was finally annexed to the Empire; but Ahmednagar continued to resist for some years. In 1604, when the Emperor was at Burhanpur, he received an envoy from Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur who offered his daughter in marriage to Prince Daniel. The Prince in order to receive the Adil Shahy Princess marched towards Ahmednagar, but the Moghal army having been harassed by the forces of Mean Rajoo, the Prince invited Khan Khanan from his camp at Jalna. The Prince reached Ahmednagar, where he received the Princess and returned to Paithan on the Godavari to celebrate his marriage there. The death of the Prince Daniel and the absence of Khan Khanan from Jalna, who proceeded to Burhanpur as his successor, gave Mallik Ambar an opportunity of aggrandisement. In 1607 Moortza Nizam Shah II, accompanied by Mallik Ambar, marched from Paranda and capturing the fort of Junnar made it the

sent of the Nizam Shahy government. He despatched an army to Daulatabad against Mean Rajoo: that chief after a short time was defeated and taken prisoner and his country again reverted to the Nizam Shahy authority.

Soon after the accession of Jahangeer to the throne, his son went into open rebellion at Agra and Mallik Ambar took advantage of the rebellion to attack the Imperial forces and to consolidate his own power, Khan Khanan, the Moghal general in the Deccan, was defeated; Ahmednagar was captured and the Imperial forces were obliged to retreat on Burhanpur. During the occupation of Ahmednagar by the Moghal, Mallik Ambar had founded a new capital near Daulatabad, though the King continued to reside at Owsa. From Khadki, the new capital, he carried on the government with great vigour and effected his great revenue reforms. He also rallied around him many of the Maratha chiefs, who had risen into military consequence and were becoming a new and powerful element in the affairs of the Deccan.

For a few years Jahangeer neglected the affairs in the Deccan but in 1612 he ordered the Viceroy of Guzrath to proceed to the Deccan with a large army to assist the Deccan general in carrying on vigorous operations against Mallik Ambar. This movement was met by Mallik Ambar in a spirited manner and the march of the Imperial forces being sorely harassed by his Maratha cavalry, the Moghals were defeated and forced to retire. In 1616 again Prince Shah Jahan was appointed commander

in-chief of the army of the Deccan and a vigorous campaign was opened against Mallik Ambar. The Deccany army was now defeated and Mallik Ambar was obliged to relinquish Ahmednagar. Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur became an ally and the previous conquests of the Empire were re-established. Peace in the Deccan was, however, of no long continuance and in 1620 Mallik Ambur again defeated the Moghal commanders. Shah Jahan was therefore again despatched to the scene of conflict where the Imperial affairs were gradually retrieved, and Mallik Ambar, defeated in a general action, submitted to the terms imposed upon him. The success of the Moghal operations in the Deccan was in great measure due to the military skill of Shah Jahan and after 1621 when there was an open conflict between Shah Jahan and the Emperor, Mallik Ambur once more triumphed in the Deccan. He died in 1626 and in the same year died Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur, after a long and prosperous reign of 57 years.

During these wars of Mallik Ambar, the Marathas in the service were frequently conspicuous. Shahaji Bhonsle, who had succeeded his father Maloji in the Jagagir particularly distinguished himself in a great battle with the Moghals in which although Mallik Ambar was defeated, no share of the blame was attached to the Marathas. In the account of the battle Lookhajee Jadhav Rao is mentioned as well as Shahaji and one of the Naiks of Phaltan was killed on the same occasion. After 1621 when Shah Jahan defeated Mallik Ambar, he had to ex-

perience severe reverses and some of the principal Marathas in his service were induced to quit his standard and go over to the Moghals. The most important defection was that of Lookhajee Jadhav Rao, Deshmukh of Sind-kher. The manner in which the Moghals received and rewarded him is in itself a proof of the great power and consequence which the Marathas had by that time attained. A Mansab of 24,000 with 15,000 horse was conferred upon him and such of his relations as accompanied him were all raised to high ranks.*

CHAPTER V.

THE MARATHAS.

The civil war among the great nobles of the Bahamani court, which broke out after the execution of Mohamad Gawan and which lasted for over a generation, sapped the strength of the Deccan and the people, weary of a long disastrous struggle, were fain to acknowledge, as their sovereign, the powerful chief who could maintain peace in the land. Besides the five monarchs, there were other nobles in possession of rich Jahgeers, who, having first refused to acknowledge one or another of them, were forced to acknowledge fealty after further struggles which continued throughout the sixteenth century. The Jahgirdar of Mahoor and Ramgir submitted to the authority of Imad Shah after a severe fighting lasting for years. The Jahgirdar of Paranda and Sholapur holding eleven districts about these stations, was the cause of a long war between the Nizam Shah of Ahmednagar and the Adil Shah of Bijapur. The Hindu rulers of Vijaynagar gave no less trouble to these monarchs. The northern frontier of that Empire, extending from Goa eastward along the rivers of the Toongabhadra and the Krishna to the Bay of Bengal, was a scene of incessant wars between the Hindus and Musalmans. Crossing the frontier the Hindus attacked the fortified places of Belgaon, Moodkal and Raichore; while the Musalmans poured southwards burning and

devastating as far as the near environs of the capital city of Vijaynagar.

The wars between these Musalman monarchs among themselves were also very ruinous to the prosperity of the country. The conquests of Berar by the Nizam Shah and of Bidar by the Adil Shah, preceded as they were by constant wars between varying allies, must have brought dreadful calamities on the people of these provinces. The small states, lying in the midst of other powerful neighbours and having no facilities for the development of commerce and industries, were left to best utilize the meagre resources of land to fight their incessant wars with their powerful neighbours. The proceeds of the heavy land tax and the accumulated wealth being all used up to defend their independence, they had to submit and be absorbed in the neighbouring states. The two monarchies of Ahmednagar and Bijapur, having a portion of the coast line with good harbours, were richer and more powerful and were able to continue in prosperity; while the Kootb Shahy monarchs of Telingana, by their peaceful and conciliatory methods, contrived to continue their existence till Golconda was conquered by Aurangzeb in 1688. The different alliances between these monarchs including the Hindu rulers of Vijaynagar, the Sultans of Guzrath and the Faruki princes of Burhanpur, show not so much of religious wars, but a mutual jealousy and a desire to extend possessions at the cost of neighbours. It was in a fit of religious enthusiasm that the monarchs of

Golconda, Bijapur and Ahmednagar combined against Vijaynagar in 1565 and brought ruin on the fair land of the Karnatik and destruction of perhaps the then most splendid city of India. The war did not end with the fall and ruin of the city, but was continued, with equal vigour, by the nobles of the Vijaynagar court, holding their own in fortified places or Doorgs, scattered all over uplands of Mysore and south Telingana beyond the Krishna.

These continuous wars, after the break up of the Bahamany Empire, caused a heavy drain on the people of the Deccan and the whole brunt of the wars fell upon the rowdy but gallant Marathas, who were freely recruited by the monarchs of Ahmednagar and Bijapur; and their leaders, acquiring large Jahgeers, became rulers of extensive tributary states—Phaltan, Jawli, Savantwadi, Mudhol and others in the south and Baglan in the north.

The rich ports on the western coast falling into the hands of the Portuguese, commerce through them passed to them from the Moors of Arabia and the Persian Gulf. The communication between the Deccan ports and the Muhammadan ports of western Asia ceased and the influx of foreign Musalmans to the Deccan courts, in search of fortune, was completely stopped. In the latter days of the Bahamany Empire, the struggles for supremacy, between the Deccany and foreign Musalman nobles, became very keen and among other causes, were the chief in bringing about the down-fall of the empire. The

Deccany party had already secured the support of the local Hindus. We find that the power wielded by Ameer Bareed at Bidar was due to the Maratha auxiliaries, whom he engaged in his service. Kassim Bareed who, when he was sent against the Maratha chief of Chakan in revolt against the sovereign, managed to marry his son Ameer Bareed to a daughter of that chief, Sabajee Rao. Ameer Bareed in the height of his power at Bidar engaged many Marathas in his service, to whom he evinced the utmost kindness.¹

During these disastrous struggles of the sixteenth century, which continued in the seventeenth century with greater vigour, on account of the Moghals entering the Deccan and trying to subvert the Bahamani Monarchs and the Maratha chiefs, the Muhammadans, whilst exhausting themselves, were gradually exciting the turbulent warlike spirit which was inherent in the Hindu natives of Maharashtra.

The importance to which the Marathas attained in the course of the sixteenth century, can well be understood from facts narrated in the following pages. As far back as 1485 when Mulik Ahmed was sent to his government of Junnar, he found the Marathas who garrisoned the hill forts, in a state of revolt; and was obliged to besiege and take all the forts about Poona including Kondana, Lohgad and many others in Konkan as far as Danda Rajapur.

Even the fort of Shivneri was occupied by a Maratha garrison, who refused to cede it. Mullik Ahmed laid siege to it and after a siege of considerable duration the garrison came forward to sue for quarter. The place being fortified it was found to contain "five years revenue of Marahatta and Konkan which had been deposited therein." This sum enabled Ahmad to proceed to reduce other forts occupied by the Marathas.

While he was besieging Danda—Rajapur, he heard of his father's assassination at Bidar, when he declared his independence at Junnar. Mullik Ahmed, after the occupation of the province of Daulatabad, reduced the forts of Antoor and other places in Khandesh held by the Marathas and compelled the Rajas of Galna and Baglan to pay him tribute. The Marathas, after the death of Mullik Ahmed in 1508 during the minority of his son Boorhan Nizam Shah, refused to pay allegiance to the regent, but when Boorhan himself undertook the task of administration, he showed great vigour and, by the wise policy of Kavar Sein, his Brahman minister, he reduced in a very short time, forty forts belonging to the Maratha Rajas, after which he established them in his service, giving them back their lands in Jahgeer, on condition that they should supply troops when required by the state.

Under the Adil Shahy Sultans of Bijapur, the Marathas rose into prominence as under the Nizam Shahy Sultans. Already during the disturbances at the close of the Bahamani power at Bidar, the Marathas had revolted

against their sovereign and had declared their independence in the remote secluded hilly tracts of Maharashtra. Yoosoof Adil Shah had to lead a force of two thousand cavalry and five thousand infantry against a Maratha Raja, whom Ferishta names Mookund Ray. During the minority of Ismail Adil Shah, the regent with a view to usurp the power, raised a vast number of Ghoda Rawuts. till at length having an army of 20,000 horse devoted to his service, he tried to usurp the throne, but unfortunately the plot was discovered, and during the rest of the reign of Ismail Adil Shah no natives of the Deccan were enlisted in the army of the state. But on the accession of Ibrahim Adil Shah, he created an army of thirty thousand cavalry, composed of Maratha Shiledars, men who rode the King's horses. During the reigns of the succeeding Sultans we very often read of Bargirs or the Maratha horse engaged to harass the enemy.

Not only the Maratha soldiers were enlisted by the Sultans of Ahmednagar and Bijapur and their chiefs given large Jahgeers for the maintenance of bodies of horse stipulated to be sent on the service of the state, but the Maratha Brahmins were also raised to high posts in the civil administration of the states. Yoosoof Adil Shah had married a Maratha lady Boobooji Khamum the daughter of Mookund Ray and perhaps through her influence * over her grandson, Ibrahim

* NOTE.—After the death of Ismail Adil Shah, the nobles raised to the throne his second son Malloo. But he soon abandoned himself to excess as to

Adil Shah I that the Marathas were honourably entertained at the Bijapur Court. Instead of foreign troops, he enlisted Deccanis in his service. The customs which prevailed in the reign of his father were wholly laid aside; and the public accounts, formerly kept in Persian, were now written in Hindvy, under the management of Brahmins, who soon acquired great influence in his government.

Under the Ahmednagar government, also the Maratha Brahmins soon became famous for their administrative capacity. As early as 1529, when the Guzrathi forces under Sultan Bahadur Shah had almost occupied the Ahmednagar territories, Boorhan Nizam Shah bestowed the office of Peshva on one Kavar Sein, a Brahmin, endowed with wisdom, penetration and integrity. Through his influence, the affairs of the state were ably conducted and in the peace negotiations, which were carried with Bahadur Shah during the next year, we find two Brahmin Officers Narsoo Pandit and Sambhaji (Chitnis) ambassadors to the court of Bahadur Shah, Sambhaji Chitnis was honoured with the title of Pratap Rao for services done to the state.

women, wine and other shameful vices, at which the nobles being disgusted retired to their Jahgeers. The minister delivered over the Prince Ibrahim to the care of his grandmother Booboojee retired to his Jahgeer of Belgaon. The Jahagirdar of Kittur a powerful Turkish nobleman also repaired to his Jahgir. The Dowager Booboojee Khamum equally offended at the King's shameful vices, resolved to depose him and with the assistance of these powerful Jahagirdars caused the King to be captured and Ibrahim was seated on the throne.

In 1548 after the death of Shah Tahir, the King made over the seals to Kasim Beg Hukeem and Gopal Rao a Brahmin.²

The whole of Maharashtra, with the exception of a part of Khandesh from Songad to near Narnalla in Berar and of the coastal territory from Nagothana to Daman, was shared between the Sultans of Ahmednagar and Bijapur.

Bijapur extended from the Nira to the Toongabhadra and of Maharashtra proper included (1) the upper valley of the Krishna with the rich Prants (Districts) of Wai, Karad, Miraj and Kolhapur, (2) East Maharashtra, extending from Mandesh to the highlands near Bidar being the rich tract watered by the Bhima and its tributaries and including the fortified places of Akluj, Sangola, Paranda, Sholapur, Owsa and Udgeer, also Pandharpur the holiest place of the Marathas and Gulbarga the eastern most town of Maharashtra and (3) southern Konkan from Danda Rajapur to Karwar. These three divisions of Maharashtra formed the bulk of the Bijapur dominions and were a good recruiting ground to the Sultans incessantly fighting in the Karnatic. The kingdom of Ahmednagar covered the major portion of Maharashtra and included (1) the whole of Berar, (2) the Godavari valley the central part of Maharashtra, (3) the upper valley of the Bhima as far south as the Nira, and (4) the Kalyan district of north Konkan extending from Kolwan in the north to Danda Rajapur in the south with the exception of the coastal strip belonging to the Portuguese.

Under these governments, the country was divided into Sircars; the next division of Sircar was known by the various synonymous names of Pargana, Prant, Karya Mahal or Talooka, such parts from having been generally intrusted to Hindu management, continued to be known by their ancient appellations. The revenues seem generally to have been farmed out in small portions; in some parts of the country, by single villages. To collect the revenues so farmed, there were Amildars or agents on the part of government, who regulated the police and settled civil suits. The revenues were collected by the Deshmukhs and Deshpandes of villages or Prants and were remitted to the Amildars, a certain percentage being retained by those Vatandars. The hill-forts seem generally to have been garrisoned by the Marathas, who were sometimes in the immediate pay of the government and sometimes in charge of Jahagirdars or Deshmukhs; a few places of great strength were always reserved by the Sultan, by whom the Killedars were appointed. A certain rank, which is termed Mansab by the Muhammadans, depending on the number of a body of horse under an individual command, was frequently conferred on Maratha chiefs and Jahgeers or villages were granted for their support. The fief-holders were often very rich Jahgirdars and the quota of troops to be furnished to the state was very small in proportion to the size of the Jahgeer. Phaltan Desh with its 84 villages, the Jahgeer of Rao Naik Nimbalkar, only furnished 50 cavalrymen to the Bijapur government. Titles were conferred on many of the Marathas, and under the Deccan dynasties such titles

were generally ancient Hindu appellations,—Raja Naik and Rao were the most common; and though bestowed by their Muhammadan conquerors, the distinction was always gratifying to the Marathas, especially as they invariably obtained with the title the means of supporting their new rank. The Maratha horse, furnished by these fief-holders, were known as Bargirs a word used by the government of Bijapur, when they employed the Maratha horse in place of the foreign cavalry being disbanded. The Marathas were naturally much more numerous in the armies of Bijapur and Ahmednagar, as these kingdoms extended over almost the whole of Maharashtra. Some of them even served in the army of Golconda. Among the principal Maratha chiefs under the state of Bijapur were Chandra Rao More of Javli, Rao Naik Nimbalkar of Phaltan, Joonjhar Rao Ghadge, Rao Manay, Ghorpade, Dufflay and Savant Bahadur, Deshmukh of Wadi. Those under Ahmednagar were Rao Jadhav, Raja Bhonsle and many others. The Rajas of Baglan, Jalna, Kherla in East Satpudas are also referred to by Ferishta.

The family of More is traced to a Naik who served in the Bijapur army while on an expedition into Karnatic. He was appointed in the reign of the first Adil Shah to the command of a body of 12,000 Maratha infantry and was sent for the purpose of reducing that wild tract between the sources of the rivers, the Nira and the Warna, being the portion of the Western Ghats lying to the west of the present Satara district. The tract was then in possession of Raje Shirke, an old Maratha family tracing

their pedigree to the Chalukyas of Badami. In this enterprise the More was successful, he dispossessed the Shirke Raja and completely put down the depredations of their abettors, the principal of whom were the families named Gujar, Mamoolkar Mohite and Mahadik. The More chief, for the service, was dignified with the title of Chandra Rao and his son Yeshwant Rao, having distinguished himself in a battle fought near Paranda with the troops of Boorhan Nizam Shah, in which he captured the green flag of Ahmednagar was confirmed in succession to his father as Raja of Javli and had permission to use the standard he had won. For seven generations their posterity ruled in that wild region, and by their mild and useful administration, the inhospitable hilly tract became extremely populous. All the successors of the first More assumed the title of Chandra Rao.

Another principal chief under the Bijapur government was the Naik of Phaltan, whose title was Rao Naik Nimbalkar or Phaltan Rao. The original name of this illustrious family in Maharashtra is Powar. The origin of the Deshmukhi claim of this family to Phaltan Desh is unknown, the family is considered one of the most ancient in Maharashtra. Waugoji Naik, better known by the name of Jagpal, was notorious for his restless and predatory habits and tradition says that Maloji Bhonsle, grandfather of Shivaji, distinguished himself under this chief, while on a raid in Kolhapur territory. Jagpal

eventually married to Maloji his sister Dipabai, who was grandmother of Shivaji.

Joonjhar Rao Deshmukh of Malavadi was the chief of a powerful family of Ghadges. Their native country is Khatav Desh and is separated from the Nimbalkar's possessions by the Mahadeo Range. They were also Deshmukhs of the Pargana of Man and held mansab under the Sultans of Bijapur. Nagoji Rao Ghadge was made Sirdeshmukh by Ibrahim Adil Shah with the title of Joonjhar Rao. They held Inam and Jahgeer lands under the Bijapur state and served their government with a body of horse. The head of the Mane family was Deshmukh of Mhaswad, adjoining the districts of the Ghadges.

The Ghorpades were originally named Bhonsles and their ancestor acquired the present surname under the Bahamany rulers, from having been the first to scale a fort in Konkan by fastening a cord round the body of a *ghorpad* (an animal having sharp claws by which it sticks closely to a rock). They were divided into two separate families, the Ghorpades of Kapsee and those of Mudhol. They were Deshmukhs of those tracts and served in the Bijapur army, each with a body of horse.

The Dufflays were Deshmukhs of the Pargana of Jat, not far from Bijapur. Their original name was Chavan, and they acquired the name of Dufflay from their village of Dufflanur.

The Savants were hereditary Deshmukhs of Wadi near Goa in south Konkan. They acquired the title of Bahadur from Sultans of Bijapur. Their original name was Bhonsle, they were distinguished as commanders of infantry.

The principal Maratha chief, in the service of the Ahmednagar state, was Jadhav Rao Deshmukh of Sindkhed, a descendant of the Yadav kings of Devgad. No Maratha family was so powerful as the Jadhavs. Lookhji Jadhav Rao held in the sixteenth century an extensive Jahagir in the Daulatabad division under the Nizam Shahy government, for the support of 10,000 horse.

CHAPTER VI.

THE BHONSLE FAMILY AND SHAHAJI.

Tradition traces the origin of the Bhonsle family to Bhosaji Maharana, great-grandson of Maharana Sajjansing Sisodia of Udaipur. Two brothers, Khelkarnaji and Malkarnaji, descendants of Bhosaji Maharana, came to the Deccan; and took service under Sultan Ahmed Shah of Ahmednagar. The sultan, being pleased with the chivalrous brothers, enrolled them among the nobility of the court and conferred upon them a mansab of 1500 horse each. The Parganas of Chakan, Purandhar and Supe were also granted to them in Jahgeer. Once while they were swimming in the river Bhima, the two brothers were drowned in water. Babaji Raje, son of Malkarnaji, being a minor, Sultan Ahmed Shah did not confer upon him the mansab of his father and also confiscated the Jahgeer granted to the two brothers. The mother of Babaji took the child to Verul near Daulatabad and lived there in peace on the small patrimony left to her. Babaji grew up a shrewd and able man and soon left Verul, with the permission of his mother, to seek fortune elsewhere. He came to the south and acquired by purchase the Patilki vatan of three villages on the banks of the Bhima in the Pargana of Purandhar. In 1552 a son was born to him, who was named Maloji, and another was soon after born and was named Vithoji. Babaji was a very peaceful man and lived happily at Deulgaonti till his

death. Maloji and Vithoji were very brave and active warriors and wanted to regain the dignity of the family and to seek fortune by the valour of their arms. They were great devotees of God Shambhu Mahadev, and through the blessing of a Gosavi soon got an opportunity of recovering the lost fortune of the family. They took service under Vanangpal, or Vangoji Naik, the Maratha chief of Phaltan, who lived in the wild mountains of Shambhu Mahadev, separating the territories of the Sultan of Ahmednagar from those of the Sultan of Bijapur. Once while the chief was out on a plundering raid to Kolhapur, he was attacked by a detachment of the Bijapur army; a skirmish ensued, in which Maloji and Vithoji showed extraordinary valour and brought their master's band safely back to the mountains. The news of this exploit spread far and wide and it soon reached the ears of the Sultan of Ahmednagar, when he expressed his desire to engage the services of those warriors. Among the nobility of the court, there were some favourably disposed to the two brothers, who taking the hint invited Maloji and Vithoji to the court. On their arrival at the capital, they were presented to the Sultan, who, being pleased with their chivalrous behaviour, conferred upon them a mansab of 1500 horse each; and for the maintenance of the troop, granted to them in Jahgeer the fort of Shivneri with its dependancy, the province of Junnar. Lookhaji Jadhavrao, who was a noble of great fame and Vazier at the Nizam Shahy court, gave information of the rise of Maloji and Vithoji to his kinsman Vangoji Naik Nimbalkar of Phaltan. That chief invited

the two brothers with their mother to Phaltan and offered Maloji his daughter, Dipabai. The marriage was celebrated with great pomp and splendour at Phaltan. Vithoji was also married, and the whole family, after visiting and offering prayers to God Shambhu Mahadev, returned to the Nizam Shahy court to pay their respects to the Sultan. Dipabai, bearing no issue for a long time, once visited the holy Pir Shah Sarif in the masjid at Ahmednagar and had the blessing of a pious Fakir. Thereafter two sons were born to her, one in 1593 and the other in 1595, named after the Pir, Shahaji and Sarifji. Maloji then got grant of a village near Ahmednagar from the Sultan and offered the same in Inam to the holy Pir. Vithoji had eight sons, whose descendants lived in later ages in villages in the Godavari valley. The influence of Maloji, day by day, increased at the Nizam Shahy court; and through the interference of the Sultan himself, his son Shahaji was married to Jeejabai, daughter of Vazier Lookhaji Jadhav Rao, with great festivities in which the Sultan also shared with great pleasure. Maloji was a great warrior and by faithfully serving his master, the Sultan of Ahmednagar, he raised the dignity of the Bhonsle family. In the course of the sixteenth century, many powerful Bhonsle soldiers rose by their personal bravery to distinction and high posts of honour both at Bijapur and Ahmednagar. Extensive Jahgeers and Inam villages were acquired by them and we see that the Ghorpades of Kapsee and Mudhol and the Savants of Wadi in south Konkan are also scions of the Bhonsle family. The Bhonsles of Nagpur are also a

powerful branch of the same family, the later scions of which became rulers of vast tracts not only in Maharashtra but in Telingana, Orissa and Chhota Nagpur.

Under Moortaza Nizam Shah, Shahaji and Sarifji were great Mansabdars and were the most trustworthy servants of the crown. They took part in all the wars fought by the Nizam Shahy forces under Mallik Ambar. After the death of that great minister in 1626, Ahmednagar fell into disorder and Shah Jahan, who was the Imperial Commander in the Deccan, could have occupied all the Nizam Shahy territories, but the death of his father Jehangeer, which occurred on October 28, 1627, required his presence in the north. He proceeded to Agra and ascended the throne on January 26, 1628. In his absence he had left Khan Jahan Lody Commander-in-chief and Viceroy in the Deccan, but as he showed rebellious spirit, he was called to Agra. He went thither, but knowing that the Emperor suspected his designs, he fled with his followers and through Bundelkhand and Gondwan made his way to the Deccan, where he had made friends of the local Maratha chiefs, who rose in his defence and repulsed the Moghals with severe loss. Among the Maratha chiefs, who followed the standard of Khan Jahan Lody, was Shahaji Bhonsle who, since the death of Mallik Ambar in 1626, had been in possession of a great portion of the western dominions of the Ahmednagar state. Shah Jahan was well aware of the power of Khan Jahan Lody and of his auxiliaries the Marathas,

and fearing that a confederacy would be formed with the Sultans of Bijapur and Golconda, he soon proceeded into the Deccan to oppose them and firmly occupy the Ahmednagar state. On his arrival at Burhanpur, he halted there to direct the general policy of the campaign. He formed his army into three divisions which he placed under the respective command of Azim Khan, Iradut Khan and Shaiste Khan. The division of Azim Khan penetrated by the western route through Baglan, where Khan Jahan was lying under the support of the Marathas, and soon compelled him to fly to the south; while his cause was much weakened by the defection of his hitherto friend, and ally, Shahaji Bhonsle. It was evident to Shahaji that in the present condition of the Deccan, Khan Jahan had no chance of success and he accordingly proceeded to Burhanpur, paid his respect to the Emperor at the head of 2000 of his retainers and was taken into the service as a commander of 5,000, which involved a patent of nobility and the confirmation of the estate he possessed. This example was followed by his cousin Kheloji and other Maratha chiefs.

Khan Jahan being driven southwards, proceeded to Bijapur, where he endeavoured to incite the Sultan Mohamad Adil Shah, to check the Moghal progress. Mohamad Shah, being a peaceful monarch devoted to civil affairs and architecture, would lend no assistance to Khan Jahan, who then went into Bundelkhand where he was killed, while bravely fighting near the fort of Kalinjar. After putting down the rebellion of Khan Jahan, Shah

Jahan continued his operations in the Deccan with a view to occupy the whole of the Nizam Shahy dominions. Azim Khan, the Moghal general, advanced from Burhanpur and marched upon Daulatabad. Here he was encountered by Moortaza Nizam Shah III and his army, but the Sultan was defeated in a general action fought near the fort, and the Moghals, following up their advantage, took possession of the country as far as Dharoor. Moortaza now dismissed his minister and releasing Fattah Khan, son of Mallik Ambar, whom he had kept in confinement on a charge of disloyalty, made him his new minister. Early in 1632 Moortaza made a secret alliance with Mohamad Adil Shah, Sultan of Bijapur, who was greatly alarmed when he heard of the occupation of Dharoor by the Moghals, promising to cede Sholapur and its dependency to the Adil Shahy king. The alliance, however, came too late. Mootaza Nizam Shah was put to death by his minister, by whom the whole of the nobility attached to the unfortunate king was removed from the king. Fattah Khan then offered his allegiance to the Emperor, with a petition representing that he had thus acted on purpose to testify his regard for the Imperial service, and that he had raised the son of the deceased to the vacant throne, until the Emperor's pleasure should be known. Shah Jahan, in reply affected to believe this representation; and although he considered the remaining districts of the kingdom almost subdued and about to be annexed to the Empire, yet as it would have been difficult to obtain possession of many of the forts by force, he pretended to grant them to

the orphan, on condition of his sending the best elephants and the most valuable of jewels belonging to the Nizam Shahy family to the Imperial court. Great honours were at the same time conferred on Fattah Khan, considerable districts were promised to him in Jahgeer and among others some of those formerly granted to Shahaji Bhonsle. Fattah Khan at first showed some reluctance to part with the elephants and jewels, demanded of him, but compliance being enforced, he was confirmed as regent and allowed to retain the promised districts. Shahaji Bhonsle, disgusted by this treatment, made overtures to Bijapur Government, through Morar Pant, an able Brahmin and principal minister of Mohamad Adil Shah. A projected enterprise against Daulatabad formed a part of Shahaji's proposals to Morar Pant, which was soon accepted by Mohamad and a Bijapur army, re-inforced by Shahaji's veterans, was on its march to Daulatabad. Fattah Khan, sensible of his own weakness to hold the fort for the infant Sultan, proposed to place himself under the protection of the Moghal General, Mohabat Khan, and to give up the fort. But before the Moghals came to take possession of the fort, the Bijapur army arrived and encamped near the fort to oppose the Moghals. A battle ensued, in which the ground was obstinately contested by the Bijapur army and Shahaji creditably supported the leading part he bore in the cause; but they were finally driven back, leaving the victory to the Moghal army. Fattah Khan now realised the danger of surrendering the fort to the Moghals, but it was too late. Mohabat Khan determined

on regularly investing the place and punishing that breach of faith on the part of Fattah Khan. The Moghals now besieged the fort and after eventful siege of fifty-eight days, the garrison were obliged to capitulate. Fattah Khan was divested of all power and became a pensioner of the Moghal government. The child, whom he had set up, was placed in perpetual confinement at Gwalior, being the second prince of the Nizam Shahy dynasty, immured in that fortress.

• Shahaji was the most powerful ally of Bijapur and it became an object of the Moghals to check his activity by any means. The Nizam Shahy Killedar of the fort of Trimbak offered his services to the Emperor, when he was informed by Mohabat Khan that if he would seize Shahaji's wife and family, then residing near Bijapur, he might have still a better opportunity to serve the Imperial cause. The Killedar accordingly made the attempt and succeeded in taking the wife of Shahaji, together with a great deal of property. The object, however, was not answered and the Moghals were unable to capture child Shivaji, whom they wanted to hold as a hostage for his father. The Jadhavs, who after the assassination of Lookhaji Jadhavrao by Moortaza Nizam Shah in 1629, became staunch supporters of the Moghal cause in the Deccan and wanted that Shahaji would also join the Moghals. But the brave Maratha fighting for the liberty of the Deccan made an alliance with the Adil Shah and thereby incurred the bitter enmity of his relatives. His wife, Jeejabai, extremely faithful to her husband and

knowing his wishes was unwilling to see that her son would fall into the hands of her father's cousins and other relatives. She succeeded in hiding Shivaji, though she herself was captured by the Moghals. But some of the relations having become security obtained Jeejabai's release and conveyed her to the fort of Kondana afterwards known as Singhgad. After the fall of Daulatabad, the Moghals marched southwards and threatened an invasion of the Bijapur territories. The Moghals marched on without opposition, though the Bijapur generals and their auxiliary Marathas, while retiring, maintained their usual desultory mode of warfare and several sharp skirmishes took place. Early in the year 1634, Paranda was reached and invested by the Moghals, but they failed to reduce the fortress, where they were not only repulsed, but after raising the siege they were compelled to retreat to Burhanpur. All the Nizam Shahy districts to the south of Balaghat were occupied by the Adil Shahy forces.

In the meanwhile, Shahaji was gaining strength in the hilly districts of the west. He proclaimed another prince as the lawful heir of the Nizam Shah and got possession of most of the forts, and, collecting troops, from all quarters, occupied an extensive territory in the name of the new king, including the whole of that part of Konkan which had belonged to the kingdom of Ahmednagar and the districts as far east as the city of Ahmednagar, extending from the Shambhu Mahadev range in the south to Trimbak in the north.

CHAPTER VII.

REDUCTION OF AHMEDNAGAR BY THE MOGHALS.

The retreat of the Moghals from Parnada, possession of many Nizam Shahy districts by Adil Shah, and aggrandisement of Shahaji's power, led the Emperor to consider the conquests in the Deccan too extensive to be placed under one officer and he, therefore, resolved to separate them into two Soobhas. To those districts of Khandesh, which had long been in possession of the Moghals, Jalna was added together with that part of present Berar termed Painghat. These constituted one of the new provinces and the lately acquired districts in the Nizam Shahy territory formed the other. Two well-known generals were appointed to the charge of them and directed to co-operate in the settlement of the western districts and in the reduction of Shahaji. This was an operation of great difficulty, as Shahaji had collected a large army and was intimately connected with Morar Pant, and supported by his master, the Sultan of Bijapur.

The Emperor was exasperated at the opposition made in a country which he had considered as subdued on the capture of Daulatabad and, being highly incensed against Mohamad Adil Shah, he prepared a great army, with the determination of bringing affairs in the Ahmednagar territory to a speedy settlement, even if it should involve the reduction of the other kingdoms of Goonda and Bijapur. He sent an ambassador to Bijapur, directing

him to demand the restitution of the forts, lately belonging to the Nizam Shahy state, which had been occupied by the Sultan's army. Further the envoy was directed to insist upon the Sultan's renouncing Shahaji and affording no countenance or protection to him. To induce compliance with these demands a promise of the fort of Sholapur and its dependent districts together with the whole of Nizam Shahy Konkan was at once held out. The negotiations proved ineffectual and Shah Jahan made thorough preparations to carry on a vigorous campaign in the heart of the Maratha country. He divided the Imperial forces into four divisions under four very able generals. A division was ordered to take its position at Nanded to act against the Sultan of Golconda, if at all he should show hostile intentions. The second division was ordered to march against Mohamad Adil Shah and to carry on operations in the heart of the Bijapur dominions, while two very powerful generals were directed to invade the hilly districts of the west, now completely occupied by Shahaji. One of these generals was ordered to besiege Shahaji's forts along the line of the Chandore range and the other was to drive him from the field, to pursue him, to expel him from every quarter of the Nizam Shahy territory and to take possession of his strong-holds in Konkan.

The campaign was opened in the year 1635 and the Moghals, advancing from Khandesh, proceeded towards the borders of the Bijapur dominions, when they reduced Naldōorg and occupied the districts between Sholapur

and Bidar; Gulbarga being surprised and taken, the Moghals plundered the mercantile towns and spread ruin, wherever they appeared. The Moghals now crossed the Bhima and approaching the vicinity of the capital, plundered and devastated the country around. As they advanced Mohamad Adil Shah, to defend the capital city, adopted the resolution of emptying the reservoirs of water beyond the walls of the fort, and collected or destroyed the whole of the grain and forage within a circuit of 20 miles. The Moghal General, therefore, did not attack Bijapur, but continued his plan of plunder and devastation; and the march of the Moghals was everywhere marked by the flames and desolation.

The ruin, spread throughout the country, compelled the Sultan to sue for peace and a treaty was concluded on terms more favourable to the Sultan than he had reason to expect. It was settled that the forts of Paranda and Sholapur, with all their dependent districts, should be given to Mohamad Adil Shah. He was likewise to retain undisturbed possession of the Nizam Shahy territories on the coast, as far north as the Koli principality of Jawhar; and the whole of the country between the Bhina and Shambhu Mahadev range, as far north as Chakan, was also allowed to be occupied by Bijapur. Thus a long strip of rugged country, extending from Thana to Bidar in the east, comprising the present districts of Thana, Poona, Sholapur and a large tract of the Nizam's dominions lying to the south of the Balaghat range, passed to

the Adil Shahy Sultan. Besides an article in the treaty, which deserves the reader's particular attention, provided that the Emperor was willing to pardon Shahaji and his adherents, if he would deliver up the forts in his possession, together with all his artillery and warlike stores ; but in case of non-compliance he was to be expelled from the territory of Bijapur and declared the common enemy of both states.

The Moghal divisions, that were ordered to operate against Shahaji. at once advanced to the Chandore range and soon reduced twenty-five of the forts near Chandore and Nasik. But the forts of Trimbak, Shivneri and Mahuli were still in possession of the adherents of Shahaji who maintained a desultory warfare against the Moghals for a considerable time. Assisted by the Adil Shahy troop, Shahaji continued to harass by his attacks, or elude by his vigilance, the army in pursuit of him. But as soon as the Bijapur government began to treat, Shahaji retired towards Konkan and evaded the surrender of his forts. War continued with him for over a year and in 1637, the forts of Trimbak, Shivneri and Mahuli being reduced, Shahaji opened negotiations of peace and petitioned for admission into the Emperor's service.

As a result of his negotiations he was told that he might retire into the service of Mohamad Adil Shah. The young king, whom Shahaji had set up, had already been taken by the Imperial General in one of his forts and sent off to be confined with others in the state prison at Gwalior. The reduction of Shahaji completed the

subjugation of the Ahmednagar state by the Moghals, whose southern frontier now ran from the source of the Bhima along the northern bank of the river for about 60 miles in the east. In the eastern part of the Deccan, the Balaghat range separated the Moghal province of Aurangabad and the Bijapur provinces of Paranda, Sholapur and Gulbarga.

Shah Jahan was fully aware of the difficulties in reducing and in maintaining possession of the Maratha forts in the hilly tracts of the west and was therefore willing to leave the tract to the Bijapur Sultan. Shahaji was all powerful in the tract and all the forts were held by Killedars who were in league with him to hold them independently and under the nominal sovereignty of the Sultan. The hilly tracts in the west of Satara, Kolhapur and Belgaon were also in possession of other Maratha families, who were ready to throw off the nominal suzerainty of the Sultan at a favourable opportunity. Shahaji was, therefore, left in charge of the tract and sovereignty of Mohamad Adil Shah being acknowledged by the Emperor in the same, he was required to repair to the court of Bijapur. His resources and abilities being known to Mohamad Adil Shah and his ministers, he was readily received and confirmed in possession of Poona and Supa, and was employed in the settlement of the newly acquired districts of the Nizam Shahy dominions.

The long war previous to the conquest of the Nizam Shahy kingdom by the Moghals was now over and Maharashtra enjoyed the benefits of peace after a century

of local disturbances and foreign wars. The Emperor, Shah Jahan, after the peace of 1636, endeavoured to arrange and improve the lately conquered districts of North Maharashtra. The two governments in the Deccan were united and prince Aurangzeb was appointed viceroy, but at this time he only remained a very short period and nothing of note was achieved excepting the conquest of Baglan, a great part of which was afterwards relinquished. Besides this the Moghals were not required to carry on military operations against any enemy to maintain peace in the newly acquired provinces. The people were satisfied with the peace, forced upon them by the Moghal arms; and the great Maratha families of Jadhav Rao and others being subdued, were honoured with Jahgeers and Mansabs, and were won over by the Moghals by their conciliatory methods. The great innovation, occasioned by the Moghal conquest of Maharashtra under Shah Jahan, was the introduction of the revenue system of Todar Mull. The task of carrying on the revenue settlement in the Moghal provinces, north of the Bhima, was entrusted to an able officer Moorsheed Kooli Khan, who, acting on Todar Mull's plan, after a laborious work of nearly 20 years, completed the financial arrangements of the government.

CHAPTER VIII.

SHAHAJI.

In south Maharashtra in districts ceded to the Sultan of Bijapur, Morar Pant, a powerful Maratha Brahmin minister at the court of Bijapur, was employed in the settlement of revenue and other financial matters. In this task, he was principally assisted by Shahaji. Besides being an able general, Shahaji possessed all the qualities of a successful administrator. He held an extensive Jahgeer about Poona, in the management of which, he employed many Maratha Brahmins, who working on the plans of Mallik Ambar introduced revenue arrangements, suitable for the small holdings in the hilly tracts of the country.

The assistance of Shahaji and his able followers enabled the Adil Shahy officers to make a speedy peaceful settlement of the country. During their intercourse, they had additional proofs of his talents and genius, in consequence of which they loaded him with encomium and favour, and on their return to court strongly recommended him to the king. Shahaji had already been known as a great general and his exploits in the recent wars against the organised armies of the Empire had left a favourable impression on the mind of Mohamad Adil Shah. His followers, the mounted Bargeers of Maharashtra, had been proved fine soldiers on the battle field, and even the late success of the Moghals was in no small measure due to

the Maratha Mansabdars, whom Shah Jahan had to create to counteract the efforts of the Maratha horse, forming the bulk of the armies of Ahmednagar and Bijapur. Mohamad Adil Shah and his ministers were glad to engage Shahaji and his followers in the campaign to the south of the Toongbhadra to reduce the Palegars in the Karnatic.

Ever since the battle of Talikote in 1565 the nobles of the Vijaynagar court had defied the authority of the Muhammadan Sultans of Bijapur and Golconda. Vijaynagar was reduced, burnt and razed to the ground, the mighty empire extending from the Toongabhadra and the Krishna southwards, was broken up ; but the strength of the Hindu nobles and kings did not abate a little and the Muhammadans were unable to reduce the numerous Doorgs or fortresses, held by the powerful nobles of the Vijaynagar court, whom the Maratha historians refer to as Palegars. After the peace with the Moghals in 1636, secure on their northern frontier almost for the first time, since the formation of the separate kingdom of Bijapur, the Adil Shahy nobles evinced an ambition of extending their boundaries beyond the Toongabhadra in the highlands of Mysore and the plains of the Kaveri.

An expedition was soon projected against the Karnatic and the ministers of the court were glad to engage the services of Shahaji and his followers to bring the expedition to a successful issue. Shahaji accepted the offer and was nominated second in command under Randcolla Khan, the Adil Shahy general. The campaign

was a complete success, and a number of Palegars were glad to pay tribute to Mohamad Adil Shah, while various districts were occupied by the Bijapur armies. Shahaji played a splendid part in the campaign, which was so highly appreciated by the court that he was given an extensive Jahgeer in the conquered parts of Mysore and the Kaveri plain. The districts of Kolar, Bangalore, Ouskota, Balapur, and Sera were granted to him in Jahgeer ; and probably with a view of securing him by an interest in different parts of the kingdom, Mohamad Adil Shah conferred on him a royal grant, for the Deshmukhi of twenty-two villages in the pargana of Karad.

The parganas of Baramati and Indapur, close to his original Jahgeer about Poona, were also granted to him. The influence of Shahaji daily increased at the court of Bijapur till he reached the zenith of his power, when he was left in sole charge of the Adil Shahy possessions in the Karnatic after the return of Randoola Khan to the court. He was left there as the Adil Shahy governor, but he lived as a ruler, conquering and reducing the refractory Palegars and princes, continuing to rise in honours and confidence under the patronage of Morar Jagdev, Dewan to the Sultan, Shahaji became one of the principal chiefs under Bijapur ; and though on the death of the king, his patron was put to death by the Queen Regent, Shahaji suffered no injury in his fortune, even after the consolidation of his gains by his son into a sovereign state. Meanwhile a quarrel arose between the Palegar of

Mudkal and the ruler of Tanjore. Shahaji was invited to reduce Tanjore, which he did and occupied it. The Palegar of Mudkal did not remain faithful to Shahaji, who therefore attacked and conquered Mudkal also. The conquest of Mudkal and Tanjore by Shahaji was confirmed by the Regency at Bijapur and Shahaji settled them on his son Venkoji*.

His brilliant career under the Ādil Shāh̄y Sultan marks him out as a great statesman and a general, who rose to greatness since the commencement of the operations of the Moghals in the Deccan. For over a quarter of a century, he took part in every event connected with the history of the Deccan, and played an honourable part in those days of intrigues and revolutions. Not only did he show to the imperial people of the North that the poor inhabitants of rugged and hilly Maharashtra were fine soldiers and capable generals; but by his genius, controlled and organised the administrative machinery in his own Jahgeer about Poona and in the distant provinces in the Karnatic. Under him were trained mighty soldiers and able statesmen. Among the statesmen Moropant Pingale, Naro Dikshit Hanmante and Dadaji Kondedeo were his most confidential servants; Moropant was appointed to the management of his districts in the Karnatic, while Dadaji had charge of his family Jahgeer about Poona. Shahaji, while in charge of the government of the Kernatic, was still fighting with refractory Palegars, when the court of Bijapur, suspecting that the rebellion

of his son Shivaji was incited by him. sent private orders to Baji Ghorpade of Mudhol to seize and confine him. This object Ghorpade effected by treachery and Shahaji was brought to Bijapur a close prisoner and confined in a stone dungeon in 1649. Prof. J. Sarkar writes that "on the 6th of August 1648 Shahaji was arrested and all his property and contingent attached by the Bijapur commander-in-chief, Mustafa Khan, then investing Jingsi in the South Arcot District. The contemporary Persian historian of Bijapur asserts that Shahaji was imprisoned for displaying a spirit of insubordination to the commander-in-chief."*

* Prof. J. Sarkar's Shivaji 45-46.

CHAPTER IX.

CHILDHOOD OF SHIVAJI.

Shivaji was, through his mother Jeejabai connected with the Jadhavs of Sindh Kheda, who were descended from the Yadaws of Devagiri, tracing their origin to Shri Krishna of Mathura and Kathyawad. No Maratha family was so powerful as the Jadhavs, who were also highly honoured by the Marathas, as being representatives of the royal family of Maharashtra, who ruled here before the conquest by Alla-ood-deen Khilji in 1312. Lookhaji Jadhav Rao, in the end of the 16th century, held an extensive Jahgeer under the Nizam Shahy government, for the support of ten thousand horse, and his daughter Jeejabai was in 1604 married to Shabaji Bhonsle with great pomp and celebrations at the capital city of Daulatabad in the presence of the Sultan himself. Shahaji grew up and became a powerful noble under the Nizam Shahy government as has been related before; he kept his family in the fort of Shivneri in his own Jahgeer, where he had two sons, the elder was named Sambhaji and the younger Shivaji. Shivaji was born at Shivneri in May 1627.

During the Nizam Shahy wars with Shah Jehan who commenced in 1629 his operations in the Deccan with a firm determination to reduce the Ahmednagar kingdom Jadhav Rao and other Maratha nobles, seeing the cause

of the Nizam Shahy Sultan lost, submitted to the authority of Shah Jehan. Jadhav Rao was honourably received by the Emperor and was confirmed in his Jahgeer, on condition of rendering aid to the Moghal cause. Shahaji was the only general who did not like to see the absorption of Ahmednagar in the Empire of the north and who therefore continued fighting with the Moghals in the hilly districts of the west.

His political connection with his relations, the Jadhavs which had never been intimate, was entirely dissolved, when the Jadhavs went over to the Moghals and accepted service under them. While the war was going on, Shahaji removed the young Sultan to the fort of Mahuli and kept his wife Jeejabai in the fort of Shivneri with a strong body of Marathas faithfully attached to him. Shahaji about the year 1630 married into another family Tukabai Mohite, which must have been resented by Jeejabai, his first wife. Jagdev Rao Jadhav, his wife's uncle, who had already been fighting under the Moghals, carried the war into the hilly Jahgeer of Shahaji. Perhaps through his bravery, the boy Sultan who was living at Mahuli was taken prisoner by the Moghals. On the capture of Shivneri in 1633 Jeejabai, was almost taken prisoner by the enemy, but through the influence of Jadhav Rao, she was released and allowed to live at Shivneri. Shahaji on the success of the Moghals set out for Bijapur to secure aid of the Adil Shahy Sultan. Peace being concluded in 1636, Shahaji formally entered the service of, Mohamad Adil Shah and began to live at Bijapur with his new wife,

while Jeejabai and Shivaji were allowed to live in his Poona Jahgeer. Sambhaji the elder son was a favourite of his father and was therefore taken to Bijapur to live with him. At first at Shivneri and after its cession to the Moghals at Kondana, Jeejabai had to live a lonely life but being secure from any attack by the Moghals from the north, partly through the influence of Jadhav Rao and partly through her husband's power, she lived a quiet and peaceful life under the protection of Dadaji Kondadev, who was left at Poona as manager of his Jahgeer by Shahaji on his going out to Bijapur. It is not definitely known, when Jeejabai and her son were removed from Shivneri to Poona. It must be some time after the treaty of 1636, by which Shivneri and its dependency as far south as the Bhima passed to the Moghals.

Owing to the disagreement, that arose between Shivaji's parents, in consequence of Shahaji's marriage with Tukabai, Shivaji did not see his father for 7 years from 1630 to 1637. In the latter year he went to Bijapur where he was accompanied by his mother Jeejabai. Shivaji was there married to Sai Bai daughter of a powerful Maratha noble, Vithoji Mohitay Newaskar, or as others say, Nimbalkar. After the celebration of the marriage Shabaji set out on his expedition into the Karnatic, and Shivaji and his mother were despatched to reside at Poona under the care of Dadaji Kondadev.

Dadaji was an able revenue officer, and under his superintendence cultivation was soon improved, and the population increased. Further scope for his talents was

afforded, by the acquisition of the districts of Indapur and Baramati; which together with several of those mountain valleys near Poona, known by the name of Mawals, were added to Shahaji's Jahgeer, in consequence of his eminent services in the Karnatic. Dadaji Kondadev introduced, in the administration of the extensive Jahgeer, those revenue reforms which have been popularly attributed to Mallik Ambar. He levied a proportion of the actual produce of the cultivated field, fixing the proportion every year. This plan differed from the permanent land assessment and was well suited to the state of Maharashtra, where every village was almost a free institution under the joint administration of the Patel and the Kulkarni. Every year the public officer, on his arrival into a village, held consultations with the Patel and the Kulkarni as to the state of the crops and the ability of each cultivator to pay and fixed the amount payable by the village. The two chief villagers, one in charge of the defence and the other in charge of the village accounts, both of whom acted as arbitrators in private disputes and mediators between the government and the villagers, not infrequently made up the amount payable by the village to the fute by individual contributions in kind. The occasion was a ceremonial occasion, the public officer being treated as a guest and the Patel and the Kulkarni claiming due share of respect from the public officer. Dadaji's management of Shahaji's Jahgeer was based on these principles and great praise was invariably bestowed on him for the success which he achieved. The mountain valleys, or Mawals were inhabited by a hardy poor race

of people, whose industry exerted at all seasons, scarcely procured them subsistence. In the early part of Dadaji's administration they were in more than usual distress, though armed to defend themselves against wild beasts, they were destitute of clothing, and the few miserable huts, of which their villages were composed, were insufficient to cover them from the inclemency of the weather. Dadaji endeavoured to ameliorate the condition of the Mawales. For several years no rent was demanded for their lands; and many of them were entertained in his service.

Shahaji's wife and son continued to live under the care of Dadaji. Their residence was fixed at Poonah, where Dadaji built a large house named Rajmahal by him, for the accommodation of Jeejabai and gave the son of his master such an education as was proper for a person of his birth. Grant Duff remarks that Shivaji could never write his name. He was a good archer and marksman, skilled in the use of the various swords and daggers common in the Deccan. The Marathas have always been celebrated for horsemanship and in this accomplishment, Shivaji excelled. By the care of his guardian he was fully instructed in such parts of the sacred history as are generally known from the Hindu epics of Mahabharata and Ramayan, the exploits detailed therein were the delight of Shivaji's youth.

From about his sixteenth year, he began to associate with persons of daring and spirit. He was frequently absent in the hills for several days; and Dadaji

endeavoured to wean him from such excursions, by showing him more attention at home and confiding much of the affairs of the Jahgeer to his superintendence. There were several Brahmin officers under Dadaji, intimate companions of Shivaji, who afterwards became his agents and advisers. As he was intrusted with a larger share of power, he used to pay and receive visits among the respectable Marathas in the neighbourhood of Poona; and he obtained general good-will in that part of the country by an obliging and conciliatory deportment. Shivaji was always partial to the Mawales, he observed that although clownish and stupid in appearance, they were active and intelligent in anything to which they had been accustomed and remarkably faithful in situations of trust. He was attentive to those in Dadaji's service, they accompanied him on his excursions and in hunting; and he became extremely popular, not only with them, but with the whole of their country-men in the Mawals. In his visits to these valleys and to the different parts of the wild Sahyadri, he grew familiar with the paths and defiles of that hilly tract and was fully convinced of their strategic security against any powerful enemy. In the Mawals were three persons with whom Shivaji constantly associated; their names were Yesaji Kank, Tanaji Malusre and Baji Phasalkar. The last was the Deshmukh of the Muse (?) Khora; the other two had also some hereditary rights among their native hills. These three were the first known adherents and military followers of Shivaji.

During the eight years between 1638 to 1646, while Shahaji was carrying on a vigorous campaign in Mysore and the Kaveri plain, Shivaji was building plans for his own aggrandisement. Endowed almost with superhuman abilities, Shivaji now in the prime of his boy-hood was receiving, in his palace at Poona under the guidance of his able tutor and divine royal mother, that education which enabled him to establish an independent kingdom and rouse in his poor but chivalrous countrymen a spirit of independence and patriotism, which though incessantly assailed during the next sixty years with all the resources of a mighty empire, was destined to survive the mortal shock offered by Aurangzeb after his conquest of Golconda and Bijapur, and capture of Shahu. The extraordinary power of administration, in all its details, he learnt from his tutor Dadaji. His excursions into the hilly tracts, the home of free institutions in Maharashtra, taught him, while in association with the daring characters of the tract, the keen insight in the strategic importance of the rugged hills and mountain-forts. His desire, to hear of the brave deeds of the national heroes of the Mahabharat and the Ramayan, infused in his mind the grandeur of Hindu ideals of self-discipline, and self-abnegation which trained him to emulate their conduct and be a great national hero of India. The accounts of the exploits of his father, while fighting with the Imperial forces of Shah Jehan, must have been an object of great interest to his aspiring genius and the reports of his daily conquest in the south, which must have reached his ears, produced in his mind a sense of greatness,

to which he expected to attain. Above all, the inspiring teaching of his mother and the purity and grandeur of her character left a deep impression on his mind which led him on to aspire to high and almost superhuman achievements. The neglect shown by his father to his loving mother while he was achieving, in the extreme south, a splendid success and rich extensive Jahgeer, must have created in him the proud ambition of securing an equally extensive kingdom for himself and thus satisfying the forlorn mother of noble birth and proud lineage.

CHAPTER X.

THE FIRST MOVE 1646-1649.

Under the wise management of Dadaji Kondadev, the whole of Shahaji's Jahgeer, enclosed between the Bhima and the Nira rivers and the line of the Western Ghats between the sources of these rivers, had become very prosperous. The different Thanadars, that were employed by Dadaji, were all able officers and served their master very faithfully. Dadaji himself highly respected Jeejabai and her son, so much so that once he expressed his willingness to have his arm cut off for plucking a mango in his master's garden without permission from his son Shivaji.¹ With such ideas of greatness impressed upon the young mind of Shivaji, he grew up an ambitious boy, and after the death of his tutor, he made firm resolve to outdo his father in deeds of valour. The ambition of establishing an independent Swarajya, on the wreck of the kingdom of Ahmednagar in the hilly tracts of Maharashtra, which had already been enjoying semi-independence under the Maratha Jahgirdars of the Ghat Matha and other hilly regions, roused him to a sense of duty and a life of activity. He considered himself as called upon by Divine will to undertake the glorious task of founding an independent kingdom, not till then attempted by any person since the Muhammadans first occupied Delhi four hundred years ago in 1206 A. D. though the Muhammadan encroachments were everywhere at the outset boldly resisted by the Hindu Kings.

Even yet while under the tutelage of Dadaji, Shivaji collected round him a band of brave Mavals, i.e., Marathas living in Mavals or hilly regions, and resolved to force his authority in his father's Jahgeer and was prepared to crush any one who dared to oppose him. He was determined to hold his father's Poona fief as his personal estate, situated as it was very close to the fief of the Jadhavs, his maternal uncle's family, in the Moghal Deccan. Shahaji was at this time successful in securing a large Jahgeer in the south from the court of Bijapur; and it was but natural that, with his influence at Bijapur, Jeejabai, not in good graces of her husband, might not have sufficient power to enforce her claims to a share in the extensive fiefs of her husband, unless with the aid of the Jadhavs, if need be, she could make her position secure in the Poona Jahgeer, which with its many impregnable forts would secure to her possession of the Jahgeer in any emergency. Among the forts along the Western Ghats were Lohgad, Tikona and Rajmachi; but Purandhar and Kondana were the forts which were directly garrisoned by the Sultan of Bijapur under the terms of the settlement, the details of which are not available, carried out jointly by Shahaji and Morar Jagdev after the treaty of 1636. They stand upon a spur of Sahyadri, running west and east and commanding the whole of Shahaji's fief from their central position between the Phima and the Nira valleys. They were indispensable for the effective hold on the Jahgeer. The fort of Kondana had a Muhammadan Killedar, and Purandhar was under the charge of a Brahmin. Shahaji's family were on terms

of intimacy with both Killedars, particularly Nilkanth Rao of Purandhar, who was originally under the Nizam Shahy government and had adhered to Shahaji.²

Most of the Killedars in other forts about the Jahgeer of Shahaji and Konkan were Marathas, while the garrisons of all were the native Maratha Mavales recruited from the valleys commanded by the forts. The families of all these Killedars, Hindu and Muhammadan, had experienced painful reverses of fortune in the late Nizam Shahy wars with the Moghals. The people of Maharashtra wanted peace and their own government, but the successes of the Moghals and the weakness of the Court of Bijapur inspired fear in their minds and they dreaded the final day when the whole country would be overrun and occupied by the Moghals. They were sure that the conquest of Maharashtra by the Moghals would throw them in the back ground and the poor indiginous population would be required to serve their northern conquerors as ordinary soldiers and clerks, the military commands and civil offices being reserved for the northern Muhammadans and the Rajputs. They were fully aware of the importance of the struggle against the Moghals continually carried on at heavy sacrifices by Chand Beebee, Mallik Ambar and Shahaji. Even the court of Bijapur was organizing plans of resistance to the Moghal advance. It was therefore natural that the Killedars and Thanadars of hilly Maharashtra would willingly accept the responsibility of a bloody struggle with the Moghals and were prepared to suffer the consequences if the fatal day would ever come.

But to the hardy Marathas it was not a death struggle; they were aware that the conquest of the Nizam Shahy kingdom was as much the work of the northern Muhammadans and the Rajputs as that of the Marathas themselves, and the poor mountaineers could offer an effective resistance to the Imperial forces of the north. The readiness, with which Shah Jehan accepted the services of Jadhav Rao, and the part, played by that Maratha chief in the reduction of Ahmednagar and the hilly tracts of the Deccan, proved to the Moghals the difficulty of conquest in the south. The prolonged resistance offered by Shahaji and the unceasing and exhaustive wars, in which the Moghals were dragged by him, were fresh in the memory of the people of Maharashtra; and they were not prepared to accept the Moghal rule without a struggle.

The Deccany Muhammadans had already lost the vigorous qualities of their forefathers and no Muhammadan chief or general was able to rally, under his standard, the brave Marathas with whose active assistance he could push back the Moghal invasion. There was no unity of action, and it was feared that the two Muhammadan states of Bijapur and Golconda were soon to be absorbed in the Moghal Empire. They knew that the efforts of Chand Beebee, to secure integrity of the kingdom of Ahmednagar, had become futile and that the unfortunate princess had suffered death at the hands of her own followers, whom she could not control. Even Mallik Ambar, though strongly supported by both the Hindu

and Muhammadan chiefs of the Deccan, was only able to hold his own for a time in a part of that extensive kingdom. Shahaji, though not supported by any Muhammadan nobleman of note, offered a prolonged resistance to the Moghals, but he too had to flee from fort to fort, with the minor Sultan and the Shah Jadi in the hilly regions of the west, and had to abandon his base of operations and to seek assistance of the Sultan of Bijapur. To the Muhammadans of the south, the task of arresting the Moghal occupation was a hopeless one, and no Muhammadan chief after the death of Mallik Ambar, dared to oppose the Moghals and many were ready to accept the Moghal service, as Jadhav Rao and a few other Maratha chiefs had already done and secured possession of their Jahgeers.

But to the wild Maratha chiefs, holding large Jahgeers in the hilly regions of the Bijapur dominions between the Bhima and the Tungabhadra rivers, the Moghal occupation of the country was not such a dreaded event. Secure in their mountain fastnesses, they must have rightly believed that the onward progress of the Moghal conquest would run in the direction of the east in the lower valleys of the Godawari and the Krishna, and that the occupation by the Moghals of their hilly Jahgeers in the upper valleys of the two rivers and their numerous tributaries was an improbable event. The acquisition of a large Jahgeer along the upper courses of the Bhima and the Nira by Shahaji, ensured their security on a firmer basis; and they did not evince that readiness to join the Moghal

standard, with which Jadhav Rao and other chiefs in north Maharashtra entered the Moghal service and which, was expected to be shown by the Muhammadan nobles of Golconda and Bijapur, as it was actually done only nine years later in 1665 by the celebrated Meer Joomla the Vazier of Golconda and "a man of considerable influence at every Muhammadan court in Asia,"² who as a powerful courtier, of Aurangzeb contributed much to his master's elevation. These Maratha chiefs were prepared to stand by the Adil Shahy standard of Bijapur against the Moghals of the north and bide their time for the future course of their action on the issue of the conflict between Bijapur and the Moghals. In this respect the successful career of Shahaji strongly recommended itself to all the Maratha chiefs, and they were, so far as the issue was concerned, indifferent to the war pressed on by the Moghals in the Deccan.

But soon after the treaty of 1636 A. D. the Moghal grip on almost all the dominions of the kingdom of Ahmednagar was tightened into forced peace, and with a firm hold on the line of defence from the fort of Shivneri at the source of the Bhima eastward along the line of the river, the Moghals threatened the Jahgeer of Shahaji. Dadaji Kondadev and other civil officers employed by Shahaji, and the Maratha Killedars of the Ghat Matha and Konkan engaged by Morar Pandit the minister of Bijapur, had, by the time Shivaji reached the age of 10, out-grown the period of indifference and had to determine

the course of their action. Even Shahaji's position in the Karnatik, where he held a rich and extensive Jahgeer, was almost secure even after the probable fall of Bijapur and Golconda. From his firm position on the highlands of Mysore, he would have successfully arrested the Moghal advance to the south beyond the defensive line along the Toongabhadra, as the monarchs of Vijaynagar had, for centuries, withstood the attacks of the Deccany Sultans. Dadaji and other great men of Maharashtra, living in Shahaji's Poona Jahgeer and directly serving the noble Yadav Princess, had to see before their eyes beyond the Bhima, the Moghal occupation of the country and the ruin of all institutions, including the peculiar revenue settlement in which the villagers and the state officers were bound together in close ties of mutual love and respect, reared during the last one hundred and fifty years under the Nizam Shahy government by the joint action of the Hindus and Muhammadans. It was, therefore left to Jeejabai and her advisors to determine the course of action to be adopted by the Maratha nation in the event of the Moghal occupation of south Maharashtra. Jeejabai's connection with Jadhav Rao would naturally lead her to accept the Moghal sovereignty, but the splendid successes of her husband would call her to deviate from that path of submission. During her sojourn at Poona from 1638 A.D. to 1646 under the care of Dadaji Kondadev, the destiny of the Maratha nation was hanging in the balance and Shivaji, the divine architect of Maharashtra, was emerging out of childhood into a youth of noble sentiments and high aspirations.

The twelve Mavals about the source of the Nira were granted by the Government of Bijapur to Shahaji, for his excellent services in the Karnatic. They were inhabited by wild Maratha Mavales and, lying in the remotest corner of the old Nizam Shahy state, they were not brought under peaceful subjection by the Adil Shahy government of Bijapur. Shahaji after receiving grant of the same entrusted the task of reducing them to Dadaji Kondadev. Young Shivaji accompanied his tutor and his first experience of a campaign was in this wild region, enclosed by lofty ranges on three sides, where the authority of the Sultan of Bijapur was only nominal and the local Maratha leaders and other *walandar* Deshpandes had almost usurped the authority, paying only a nominal sum to the government.³ Dadaji established his complete mastery over these Mavals. The chiefs and Deshpandes were won over. Those who defied his authority were defeated and crushed. Krishnaji Naik Bandal, the Deshmukh of Hirdas Maval was completely defeated and his villages were occupied.

In the course of this campaign, Shivaji secured the services of Yesaji Kank and Tanaji Malusare, two of the Maval chieftains of his own age, and enrolled them as his first captains. Baji Phasalkar, a young Deshmukh of Konkan was also enrolled at the same time; and with the assistance of these brave captains, Shivaji in the monsoon of 1646 A. D. occupied Torna, a hill-fort exceedingly difficult of access. It had a commandant

who used to leave the fort in rains and in his absence Shivaji captured and garrisoned it with his own men. The commandant complained to Bijapur and Shivaji counter-complained for the absence of the commandant. Shivaji, at the same time, offered to pay larger rent than had been previously paid for lands round Torna, when it was added to his father's fief.⁴ Five miles from Torna, on the crest of the same spur of hills known as Morbad Shivaji, under the supervision of Moropant Pingale built a new fort named Rajgad with four walled redoubts on the successive terraces of the hill-side. The occupation of Torna, originally an Adil Shahu fort, and the accidental discovery of a large quantity of gold, with which Shivaji built the fort of Rajgad, are probably myths and are not supported by any substantial evidence. Sabhasad, the earliest Maratha historian, does not refer to these events and on the contrary mentions, at the end of his book, that the two forts of Rajgad and Torna were among those built by Shivaji. Rajgad stands first and Torna second in the list of one hundred and eleven forts built by Shivaji.⁵

The resistance offered to Shivaji by the Maratha chiefs of Mavals proved the necessity of defending his Mavals against the attacks of other Maratha chiefs in the hilly tracts lying to the south and south-west of the spur of hills on which Rajgad and Torna stand; and hence just at the outset of his career, young Shivaji built the two forts and secured his Jahgeer from any danger in the

⁴ Kincaid 134.

⁵ Sabhasad 83.

South. The fortification of those two commanding hills was reported to Bijapur. The Sultan was angry, but his wrath was turned away by Shahaji asserting the loyal intention of Shivaji. At the same time he sent a secret letter to Dadaji to reprimand his son and warned Dadaji to keep better control over him.

Soon after the campaign was over, Dadaji, worn out by age, died early in 1647 A. D. and Shivaji became his own master at the age of twenty. The death of Dadaji Kondadev found Shivaji ready for his task. He had already been trained in martial exercise and civil administration; he had familiarised himself with the troops of his father's Poona Jahgeer and the people he would have to govern. Initiative and power of command had been freely developed in him without check or interference from his guardian. Administrative orders had, for sometime before this, been issued in his name as his father's representative, while Dadaji Kondadev had stood by watching his pupil. Shivaji had also taken part, with his mother or his tutor, in some judicial investigation and public decisions of legal disputes.⁶ Dadaji's campaign in the Mavals ended at the break of monsoon in 1647, and Shivaji continuing in the Mavals fortified Rajgad and Torna. At the same time, he clearly avowed the intention of satisfying his ambition by making his own royal seal, on which the letters "Mohar Hindavi Rajashri Shivaji Raje" were engraved. In a letter written in Adhika Shravan, Sake 1568 (August 1646 A. D.) this seal is

6 Ragwade, quoted by Prof J. Sarkar Page 30.

affixed;⁷ and in another letter written in Ashwin Sake 1569 (October 1647 A. D.), in which there is reference to the death of Dadaji Kondadev Subhedar in the previous year, we find another seal of Shivaji on which is engraved a verse in Sanskrit the meaning of which runs thus—"Capable of increasing like the crescent of the new Moon and revered by the world, this seal of Shivaji, son of Shahaji, shines forth for prosperity."⁸

Shivaji's first act after the death of Dadaji was to bring all parts of his father's Poona Jahgeer under his own control, so as to form one compact state ruled by one authority. Shivaji, as manager of his father's Jahgeer called upon all the officers, civil and military, to submit to his authority, and even threatened with removal those who resisted. He, now, under the advice of his old and experienced officers, conceived a bold plan of securing a large compact Jahgeer, a tributary state though not an independent kingdom. The nucleus of his state was to be his father's Jahgeer, from where he expected to enlarge his kingdom in Konkan and along the rugged hilly regions in the south.

The district of Supa, ceded to Adil Shah and immediately granted to Shahaji in Jahgeer, was then in charge of Sambhaji Mohite as Havaladar and Dadaji Rakhmangada as Majamudar. Sambhaji was brother of Tookabai, Shahaji's second wife. On the death of Dadaji

⁷ Rajwade Vol. XX. 10.

⁸ Rajwade Vol. XX. 349.

Kondadev he refused to obey his young nephew and wanted to take his orders direct from Shahaji. But Shivaji was determined to enforce his orders upon him and with that object went to Supa, where, finding that his uncle was not well disposed towards him, Shivaji imprisoned him and taking possession of the place with all his 300 horse and ample wealth, appointed his own Havaldar Sidhnath. Mohite, still persisting in his refusal to serve Shivaji, was sent to Shahaji with all his personal effects.⁹

The fort of Chakan, guarding the road to Poona from the north, had been entrusted by his father to Firangaji Narsala. This officer, when called upon by Shivaji, promptly offered his obedience to his master's young son and was confirmed by him in the command of Chakan. He likewise received charge of *majamu* or revenue management of the adjoining villages, on condition that he should maintain the system of Dadaji Kondadev. Kanho Padmanath was Havaldar of Baramati; he too peacefully submitted to Shivaji's authority. And the officer in charge of Indapur on the eastern margin of the Jahgeer also submitted.¹⁰

The civil administration of the Jahgeer, also received due attention of Shivaji. Shahaji had, on his departure to Bijapur, deputed men of tried ability to take charge of his Poona Jahgeer, and now Shivaji with a view to raise

9 Sabhasad 6.

10 Duff Vol. I 134.

the dignity of his state appointed, or rather confirmed, from among his father's trusted agents, ministerial officers of high ranks and dignified titles. Shamrao Nilkantha Ranjhanekar was made Peshwa or chancellor, Bala-krishna Pant received the title of Majamudar or minister of finance, Sonaji Pant was raised to the dignity of Dabir or minister for foreign affairs, and Raghunath Ballal was made Subnis or Paymaster. Tukoji Chor Maratha was appointed Surnobat or commander-in-chief and was placed in charge of a decent army of 10,000 Mavale infantry. A cavalry division, consisting of 1,200 Paga or household horse and 2,000 Shiledars or free troopers, was formed and placed in charge of another Surnobat Mankoji Dahatonde. Shivaji with the assistance of his Karbhari or Ministers managed the affairs of his possessions very cautiously and wisely.¹¹

The fort of Kondana, eleven miles south-west of Poona was garrisoned by an Adil Shahy detachment and it was secured by bribing its commandant. Purandhar, the most famous fort in Poona District was in charge of a Brahmin Killedar named Nilkanth Rao, whose family had been in hereditary charge of it and its adjacent lands ever since the days of the Ahmednagar dynasty. After the death of Nilkanth Rao his sons began to quarrel for the distribution of the hereditary property. Shivaji, who was on his way to Supa, was called by the garrison of Purandhar to bring about a conciliation between the brothers and to hand over the fort to Shivaji who was a

strong and powerful chief and who owned territories about it (Chitnis.37). Shivaji imprisoned the brothers and placing his own garrison occupied it himself (Sabhasad 7). Grant Duff (Vol I 136) remarks that Shivaji, by avowing his designs of independence, attempted to excuse his treachery and reconciled the brothers by grants of Inam villages and by persuading them to enter his service, in which they afterwards attained some distinction.

Supa, Baramati and Indapur in the south-eastern corner of the Poona district, and Chakan on the way to the north had belonged to him from before since 1636. And the possession of Purandhar, Kondana, Rajgad and Torna secured his territory by a strong chain of hill-forts on the south. North-west of Poona Shivaji easily acquired the forts of Tikona, Lohgad and Rajmachi and garrisoned them with his own trusty followers. The fort of Rajmachi standing on a crest of the Sahyadri, six miles north of the Bor pass, commanded and overlooked the Konkan plain on the west.

All these acquisitions were made without stir or bloodshed, in fact they were all surrendered to Shivaji by their commandants, who were mostly Marathas, and who had assisted Shahaji while defending the cause of the Nizam Shahy Sultan of Ahmednagar against the encroachments of the Moghals of the north. They were all trained in the military discipline of Shahaji and were originally faithful servants of the government of Ahmednagar. Shahaji's victories in the south and Shivaji's

glorious activities in Poona must have made them eager to join Shivaji, who was then only building up a state on the wreck of the Ahmednagar kingdom. No Adil Shahy possessions as such were molested by Shivaji and the irregularities in the Jahgeer of Shahaji, if fully known, were not deemed of magnitude, when Shahaji himself was in the power of the Adil Shahy Sultan of Bijapur, and when it was perfectly known that the peaceful settlement of the western Nizam Shahy districts, newly acquired by the Adil Shahy government, was an impossible task to the government, unless it was entrusted to a local powerful Jahgirdar.

Shivaji next crossed the line of the Western Ghats and ventured into Konkan, of which a long strip along the coast from Daman to Revdunda was then held by the Portuguese, and the portion to the south of Revdunda extending as far as Bankote was in possession of the Siddis of Janjira. As admirals of the Nizam Shahy kingdom, they ruled that part of Konkan as tributary chiefs. After the fall of Ahmednagar, Konkan was ceded to Bijapur, when the Bijapur government retained the Siddi sailors in their service, but placed over them their own officers, to whose charge were also entrusted some forts on the mainland and the dependent tract, extending in the east to the foot of the Ghats. This tract was in close touch with the south-western corner of Shivaji's possessions and was guarded by the forts of Torna and Rajgad, while it was separated from the government districts of Bijapur by the hilly possessions of the Mores of Javli. The

Portuguese possessions extended only a few miles from the coast and beyond their line of fortifications from Daman to Nagothna, was the district of Kalyan, stretching to the foot of Sahyādrī. This district of Kaylan, which belonged to the government of Ahmednagar, was ceded to the Sultan of Bijapur by the treaty of 1636 A.D. along with the Siddi's possessions and the district of Poona. The district of Poona had developed into a sovereign, though not yet independent, state ruled by Shivaji, and the territories of the Siddis were governed by an Adil Shahy officer. The district of Kalyan was, in 1641, nominally held by an Arab foreigner, named Mulla Ahmed of the Nawaiyat clan, one of the leading nobles of Bijapur. But the protracted illness of Sultan Mohamad Adil Shah had detained Mulla Ahmed at Bijapur for a long time. And during his absence the defence of his Jahgeer had grown slack and inefficient. A considerable amount of disaffection and disorder seems to have prevailed among the chieftains of the district, who were mostly Marathas.¹² In fact the district did not enjoy peace for a long time and had been in a disturbed condition since the wars of Shahaji against the Moghals. The occupation of the district by the Adil Shahy government had not been perfect and the Maratha captains, who served Shahaji in his wars, were still in almost independent possession of the forts. The Jahgirdar, unlike Shahaji, had been unable to enforce his authority in that hilly district, nor could the officers of Bijapur put down the disturbances on account of the long distance and want of communication from Bijapur.

12 Prof. J. Sarkar's Shivaji 42.

The progress of Shivaji in Konkan beyond the line of the Western Ghats seems to have been assisted by the petty local chiefs who, writing to Shivaji, invited him to their forts and requested him to occupy them. Surgad, Tala, Ghosala, Bhorapor, Sudhagad Kangori and above all the impregnable fortress of Rairi, which was to be his future capital, all passed into his hands. The Siddis of Janjira were indifferent as to who garrisoned those forts so long as they were secure on the sea. However as the Siddis were formidable neighbours, Shivaji, to secure effective hold on his new possessions, gave orders for building two forts of Beerwadi and Lingana in the vicinity of Ghosalgad and Rairi respectively.¹³

Having thus secured his southern frontier, the same as the old Nizam Shahy frontier, Shivaji in 1648 sent a body of Maratha horsemen under Abaji Sondev, who marched on Kalyan and Bhiwandi, which were then without walls, and occupied them with their dependent territories. The famous fort of Mahuli was captured and a strong Maratha garrison was posted there to defend the surrounding valleys. The whole district of Kalyan, together with all the Konkan possessions depending upon the forts recently occupied by Shivaji's generals, was put in charge of Abaji Sondev being made governor of the whole province of North Konkan. Under the wise direction of Shivaji and his ministers, revenue arrangements were soon completed and ancient institutions as

under the old Nizam Shahy government were revived.¹⁴ The peaceful settlement of the province under Shivaji was as perfect as in the Poona district just above the Ghats.

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Shivaji's annexations had reached this point by the middle of 1648, A. D. when his career of conquest was suddenly checked by alarming news from the Karnatic. On the 6th of August, his father was arrested by the Adil Shahy general Mustafa Khan, then investing Jinji in the South, for displaying a spirit of insubordination. But the later Maratha historians have misunderstood the cause of this act. The earliest Marathi Bakhar, that of Sabhasad, is silent about the affair. One of the two Persian authorities quoted by Prof. J. Sarkar gives details of the arrest—"Shahaji withdrawing his head from obedience to Nawab Mustafa Khan, began to oppose him, till at last the Nawab decided to arrest him. One day he made Baji Rao Ghorpade and Yeshwant Rao Asad Khani get their forces ready and sent them away early in the morning to Shahaji's camp. Shahaji was still sleeping in bed. As soon as the two Raos arrived and Shahaji learnt of their purpose, he in utter bewilderment, took horse and galloped away from his house alone. Baji Ghorpade gave chase, caught him and brought him before the Nawab, who threw him into confinement. His contingent of 3,000 cavalry was dispersed, and his camp was thoroughly looted. Adil Shah, on hearing of it, sent

from his court Afzul Khan to bring Shahaji away and an unuch to attach his property — November 1648.”¹⁵ Being brought to Bijapur he was confined in a cell, the door of which was slowly walled up in order to induce him to compel his son to give up his lawless career and to come to Bijapur.

Shahaji, while in confinement, pleaded innocence and declared that he was unable to induce his son to come over to Bijapur. The Sultan and other courtiers, Randulla Khan, Morar Pant and Saraja Khan, who were not prepared to lose the services of Shahaji, a great Amir and a brave soldier, advised release of Shahaji. Randulla Khan standing guarantee, for the good conduct of Shahaji, he was soon released and confirmed in possession of all his Jahgeer.

Shivaji was not prepared to leave his father in danger of torture and starvation, and by diplomacy tried to rescue him. He first wrote to Prince Murad Baksh, the Moghal Viceroy of the Deccan, entreating him to secure the Emperor's pardon for Shahaji's past conduct and protection for him and his sons in future, and offering to come and to join the Moghal service on receiving a written assurance of safety. To this Murad replied, on 14th March 1649, telling him to send first a trusty agent to report his demands. This was evidently done and Murad after reporting the case to the Emperor and

• • 15 Prof. J. Sarkar's Shivaji 44, 45.

• • 16 Chitnis 37, 38.

learning his wishes wrote to Shivaji on 14th August, asking him to come to court with his father and kinsmen that he might be created a 5-Hazari, while Shahaji would get back the rank he had once held in the Moghal peerage. Still later on 31st October, Murad wrote directly to Shahaji to inform him that Shivaji's appeal for his release had been received, and that as the Prince was soon going back to the Imperial court, he would there report the prayers of Shivaji to the Emperor and take his orders. He asked the Maratha chief to send his agent to court to receive the Emperor's firman and assurance of safety, and on his behalf presented him with a robe of honour. In this letter, Sambhaji and other sons of Shahaji are spoken of as sharing his captivity. Shivaji then sent Raghunath Pant as his envoy to the Prince to ask for the Deshmukhi of Junnar and Ahmednagar Parganas, to which he claimed an hereditary right [Grant Duff Vol. I 145]. Murad on 30th November 1649 promised to try to secure these rights to him on reaching the Emperor's presence.¹⁷

Shahaji was probably kept in prison till the capture of Jinji (17th December 1649) made the Adil Shahy position in the Karnatic absolutely secure, so that in the event of his return, he could no longer work any mischief. However after his release, he was not at once allowed to go to his Karnatic Jahgeer till after two years. In

¹⁷ Prof. J. Sarkar's Shivaji 47-48, Prof. Sarkar's information is based on letters in possession of Rao Bahadur Parasnis of Satara.

1653 he was permitted to return to Banglore. There he found everything in disorder. The chiefs, whom he had subdued, had revolted during his absence, Mustafa Khan claimed to have certain rights in the fortress of Kanakgiri, conferred by Bijapur Government on Shahaji. Instigated, if not actually aided, by a number of the royal household nobles including Afzul Khan, Mustafa Khan overpowered Shahaji's garrison and occupied Kanakgiri. Sambhaji went there with a force, but found Mustafa Khan prepared to resist, Sambhaji sent a letter to Mustafa Khan urging him to refer the dispute to the King at Bijapur. While negotiations were proceeding, Mustafa treacherously ordered his artillery men to hit Sambhaji. The batteries opened fire and a cannon ball hitting Sambhaji killed him instantly. The treachery profited Mustafa but little. Shahaji once more reached Banglore and led a body of troops to Kanakgiri and stormed it.¹⁸ The loss of Sambhaji was followed by the demise of his principal agent in the Karhatic, Naropant Hanmante, a Brahmin educated in the school of Mallik Ambar. His place was fortunately well filled by his son, Raghunath Narayan a person of considerable talent.¹⁹

During the years 1649 to 1655, Shivaji kept quiet, and he seems to have contented himself with consolidating his possessions and organising their administration. Meanwhile Shahaji, even after his release seems to have been

¹⁸ Kincaid 148-49.

¹⁹ Grant Duff Vol. I f4J,

detained at Bijapur, and after some time being allowed to proceed to Karnatic, was consolidating his extensive possessions.

Thus within a short period of 2 years, Shivaji was able to create a Kingdom for himself on the wreck of the Ahmednagar Kingdom. Whether it was a rebellious act against Bijapur, is doubtful and if the information brought to light by Prof. J. Sarkar as to the cause of Shahaji's capture is to be believed we can say that the court of Bijapur did not so resent the action of Shivaji as to open a campaign against him. The acquisition by Shivaji of a part of Konkan, though not supported by the court, was acquiesced by them and Shivaji continued in possession of the same, while Shahaji enjoyed all the favours of the luxurious court of Bijapur. Meanwhile, as Prof. Sarkar says, Shahaji was treacherously imprisoned by the court of Bijapur for a breach of discipline in the army and was brought to Bijapur in confinement. Shivaji appealed to the Emperor, Shah Jehan, who then wrote a letter to the court of Bijapur to release Shahaji, the position between Shivaji and the Bijapur government was completely changed by this appeal to the Emperor. The Sultan of Bijapur could do no harm to Shahaji or even threaten an invasion against Shivaji, lest Shivaji would call in the Moghal aid. Shivaji could not proceed to occupy any more Adil Shahy posts, lest Shahaji would be killed in his confinement. At this crisis two powerful friends of Shahaji, Morar Jagdev minister and Randoolla Khan the commander, of Bijapur, interceded for Shahaji.

He was released from his confinement and Shivaji achieved his object in a more successful way than perhaps he had expected. He was free to hold all his new conquests and was for all practical purposes deemed a feudatory chief under the government of Bijapur. He could well continue his negotiations with the Moghals and laid claim to the Deshmukhi rights over Junnar and Ahmednagar. Both the Emperor and the Sultan of Bijapur had to acknowledge Shivaji as a *de facto* ruler of a large portion of Maharashtra.

CHAPTER XI.

OCCUPATION OF JAVLI AND SHRINGARPUR.

The last years of Mohamad Adil Shah were marked by a great crisis in the history of Bijapur. The King was seriously ill and was unable to conduct the affairs of the state. While Badi Saheba, the Queen, acted as regent, the Government was actually in the hands of the prime minister, Morar Jagdev a Maratha Brahmin. A strong powerful faction of Maratha and Muhamandan nobles was opposed to Morarpant, whose cause was strongly supported by Shahaji. He was a very powerful chief and, being a personal friend of Randoolla Khan the commander-in-chief and the conqueror of vast territories in the Karnatic, was in a position to effectively control the government. However after he was permitted to proceed to the Karnatic in 1653, A. D. he was there opposed by many nobles headed by Mustafa Khan. To secure his Jahgeer Shahaji had to subdue them on the battlefield. In this state of things, some of the nobles, who were strongly opposed to Shahaji prevailed upon the Queen regent to send a small force under Baji Shamraj to capture the person of Shivaji, who was then consolidating his new possessions, originally the Nizam Shahy districts of Ahmednagar. Before 1636, Shahaji was actually fighting with the Moghals for the possession of those very districts, though then for the young Sultan under his protection. The Bijapur

government securing very favourable terms from the Moghals indirectly sanctioned the final extinction of the Ahmednagar Kingdom. Being unable to occupy, for the state, the Nizam Shahy districts in the west ceded to them by the Moghals, they granted, in Jahgeer, Poona to Shahaji, Kalyan to Moulana Ahmed; and the Siddi admirals of Janjira being confirmed in their possession some tracts about Janjira were placed in charge of Fath Khan. It was in this tract, the central parts of Maharashtra, that the last stand was made by the Ahmednagar nobles particularly Shahaji; and it was this very tract now occupied by Shivaji and garrisoned by his Maratha Havalgars. Naturally some of the nobles of Bijapur, who would not willingly accept the pretensions of Shivaji to sovereignty in those districts, advised the Queen regent to send Baji Shamraj who must have boastfully believed himself capable of capturing Shivaji as Baji Ghorpade had captured Shahaji near Jinji. Besides the More chief of Javli promised help to Baji Shamraj.

Another and more powerful consideration urged the court of Bijapur to take immediate steps against Shivaji. Aurangzeb, who was appointed Viceroy of the Moghal Deccan in 1653, had the proud ambition of capturing Golconda and Bijapur and reducing them into provinces of the Moghal empire. On his arrival in the Deccan he began to intrigue at the courts of Bijapur and Golconda and tried to sow dissensions among the nobles of the two courts. He knew that the reduction of Ahmednagar by his father was facilitated by the defection of Iadhav Rao

and he was sufficiently shrewd to understand that the defection of Shivaji, Jadhav Rao's grandson, would facilitate the fall of Bijapur. Hence some of the Bijapur nobles, fearing the rise of Shivaji and apprehensive of his assisting the Moghals, advised and planned an expedition under Baji Shamraj to capture Shivaji. For this purpose Baji Shamraj was sent into Konkan with 10,000 men. The vassal chief of Javli, Chandra Rao More, was ordered to co-operate with Baji Shamraj. The expeditionary force marched deep into the narrow upper valley of the Krishna by way of Wai, and, passing through Javli, appeared before Mahad hoping to surprise Shivaji there. But Shivaji was away putting down some disturbances at Choul, where the Bijapuri Thanadar Khojoji being captured, he was setting up his own administration. On receiving news of the arrival of a Bijapuri force he returned to Rajgad and ordered a detachment from his army to fall upon Baji Shamraj, who then being defeated retreated with heavy loss by the same way he had come.¹

The vassal state of Javli was very extensive and occupied for 60 miles the whole of Ghat-matha and the lower Konkan valleys in the immediate neighbourhood from the Krishna to the Warna, and by its situation barred the path of Shivaji's ambition in the south and south-west. The two chief passes across the Sahyadri, leading from the two provincial towns of Karad and Wai in the fertile valley of the Krishna to Chiplun and Mahad, the

1 Chitnis, 34.

commercial marts in Konkan, lay through the territories of Chandra Rao More. To secure his possessions in Konkan against any attack by a Bijapuri army similar to that attempted by Baji Shamraj, Shivaji deemed it necessary to win over the More chief to his side or to occupy that portion of the Ghat-matha.

The Yadav Kings or Maharashtra gave Mahableshwar and the surrounding hilly regions to the Shirkes. But Yoosuf Adil Shah, the first Sultan of Bijapur, offered the Shirke's fief to Parsoji Bajirao More, one of his Maratha captains of 12,000 horse. Shirkes were driven out and Parsoji received the title of Chandra Rao. Parsoji's son Yeshwant Rao in 1524 joined the Adil Shah and fought with Boorhan Nizam Shah I and captured the green standard of the Ahmednagar army. Yeshwant Rao was allowed to retain it and was made Raja by his liege lord. For seven generations Mores ruled in that inhospitable region and amassed a vast treasure. They kept a body of 12,000 infantry, mostly sturdy hillmen of the same class as the Mavales, and succeeded in getting possession of the entire Ghat-matha and a part of Konkan. The eighth in descent from Parsoji was Krishnaji. In his time there was a rising of the Kolis. It was put down and a silver image of God Mahableshwar was made by Krishnaji and the temple built. Krishnaji had five sons, the eldest Balaji became Raja and Chandra Rao and other sons were given each a village.²

2 *Kincaid page 111

Jeejabai had once gone to Mahableshwar with her son. There she was attracted with the beauty of the three daughters of Balaji Raja, and asked Balaji for one of them as a bride for Shivaji, but Balaji declined the offer. Shivaji later on pressed the More Raja to join in his movement, but he refused pleading his loyalty to Mohamad Adil Shah. In 1655 Shivaji tried to settle affairs with Balaji More. He visited Javli himself and in an interview tried to gain him to his side, but Balaji on the contrary tried to secure his visitor's person in order to hand him over to the Bijapur government, Shivaji made his escape and having determined to chastise the More chief of Javli, he sent as his envoy Raghunath Ballal to ascertain the strength of the state. Raghunath reported that the Raja had a strong army of 12,000 men and that the Mores would not be subdued till the death of Balaji. Raghunath Ballal and Sambhaji Kavji, accompanied by a body of about 100 brave soldiers, were then sent with an ultimatum that Balaji should join him at once and give him his daughter in marriage or take the full consequences of refusal. Meanwhile Shivaji led an army and occupied the Mahableshwar plateau overlooking Javli and the Koyna valley below. Raghunath arrived near Javli and sent word to the chief announcing his arrival on a special mission from Shivaji to make a treaty of peace with him. Chandra Rao received him kindly and after a formal conversation sent the envoy to a suitable place of residence. On the next day Raghunath had a secret interview with the chief in person and finding a fit opportunity stabbed him with his dagger to death. Suryaji Rao his

brother fell upon Raghunath ; but he too was done away and Raghunath returned to his men in haste. Soon afterwards he presented himself before Shivaji, who being informed of what had happened led an attack on Javli and occupied the place. Shivaji then conciliated the Captains and the Mavale soldiers of the Chief of Javli and giving them Kaul or assurance of safety enrolled them in his army. Two other dependent chiefs, Hanmant Rao, a brother of Chandra Rao and Babaji a fiery brigand of Shivtar valley, offered resistance to Shivaji. But Hanmant Rao was killed by Sambhaji Kavji and Babaji Rao was seized and imprisoned (October 1655).³

Shivaji could now hold the line of the Sahyadri Ghat-matha from the source of the Bhima in the north to about the fort of Panhala in the south and thus be now free to carry on operations in Konkan and to consolidate his kingdom in the western portions of Maharashtra beyond the Sahyadri. Besides opening a door for the conquest of the south, the annexation of Javli brought a very important accession to his strength, in the form of many thousands of Mavale infantrymen from among the subjects and former soldiers of Chandra Rao. In short, his recruiting ground for these excellent fighters, living along the Sahyadri range, was now doubled. He enlisted the Mavales in large numbers and with their aid captured the fort of Wasota.

Soon after, the village of Golewadi, the seat of another Maratha soldier, was occupied with other hills overlooking Wai and upper Krishna valley. In the fight

Gole's daughter was caught but was released with honour. West of the state of Javli in the Konkan plain, lay the principality of Shringarpur owned by a chieftain named Surve, but virtually ruled by his minister Shirke. As Shivaji entered the country, the chief fled far away and the Karbhari Shirke being captured, the whole principality was occupied by Shivaji and the Shirkes being won over joined Shivaji with all their followers.⁴

The campaign of 1655-56 opened with the conquest of Javli, by which Shivaji was enabled to carry on his operations to reduce Konkan most successfully and to occupy many forts and their dependent districts. But it appears from a statement in the Chintnis Bukhar [page 33] that at the hands of the Siddis of Janjira, the Maratha forces met with a great repulse, and Shivaji marked his displeasure with his defeated general, Shamraj Nilkanth, by removing him from the Peshwaship and conferring that post on Moro Trimal Pingale; while a large army under Raghunath Ballal was sent against the Siddis to retrieve the prestige of his arms.

But the outbreak of the monsoon prevented further operations, and Shivaji devoted his time to organise the machinery of civil administration in his now greatly expanded kingdom. Besides Moro Trimal, the chancellor, other competent men were raised to the dignity of ministers. Nilo Sondev was made Majamudar or minister of finance. Two new posts of Soornis or

Keeper of the Royal seal, and of Wakis or Mantri, Superintendent of household troops and establishments, were created and Abaji-Sondey and Gangaji Mangaji were appointed to them. An ecclesiastical officer, by name Prabhakarpant with his two sons Bālabhatt and Govindbhatt, has also been mentioned by the historian Sabhasad. Netaji Palkar and Mankoji Dahatonde were two commanders of cavalry and under Netaji there were 7,000 *paga* or household troopers and 3000 Shiledars. The command of Mavale in fantry numbering 10,000 strong, was given to Yesaji Kank.

To strengthen the defences of the pass, now known as Parghat, connecting Konkan with the Krishna valley by three different routes along the valleys of the Koyna, the Venna and the upper Krishna Shivaji pitched upon a high rock on which he resolved to erect another fort. The execution of the design was entrusted to Moro Tirmal Pingale who had been appointed to command the fort of Purandhar. This man, when very young, accompanied his father then in the service of Shahaji to the Karnatic whence he returned to Maharashtra about the year 1653 and shortly after joined Shivaji. Under his superintendence the fort was erected and named Pratapgad. The goddess of Tuljapur is the tutelary deity of the Bhonsle family. During the wars with the Moghals Jeejabai and her son could not visit the holy shrine and they were eager to build a temple of Bhavani at Rairi. But in accordance with a dream, or more probably in view of

the strategic importance of the place Shivaji decided ~~to~~ build the temple on the hill of Bhorapya, then being fortified into Pratapgad under the supervision of Moropant Pingale.

CHAPTER XII.

AURANGZEB AND SHIVAJI.

While Shivaji was engaged in fighting with the Mores of Javi and reducing the numerous valleys of the Ghatmatha and Konkan belonging to their chief, Aurangzeb as viceroy of the Moghal Deccan was conducting a campaign in the heart of Golconda with the assistance of Meer Joomla, the ablest statesman of the Deccan, and the Vazier of the Kootb Shahy Kingdom of Golconda. He had a quarrel with the Sultan and, being dissatisfied with him, applied for the Emperor's protection. Shahjehan accepted his request and authorised Prince Aurangzeb to open a campaign into Golconda. Meer Joomla joined the Imperial standard against his former master. Early in 1656 Aurangzeb marched to Hyderabad, which he took and plundered. Kootb Shah was obliged to purchase pardon by a contribution of a crore of rupees and the gift of his daughter in marriage to the son of his enemy, the Prince Sultan Mohammed.¹

Aurangzeb and Meer Joomla would reduce both Golconda and Bijapur into Imperial provinces, but Shah Jehan was unwilling to give them authority to subjugate them. However Bijapur was also threatened with invasion. The authorities there at tried to organise plans of resistance to the Moghal advance. * But the Sultan being

confined to bed, the courtiers, under the double pressure of a foreign invasion and a weak administration at home, were divided among them selves. The encroachments of Shivaji in the state of Javli at this very time were no doubt resented, but active measures to suppress him were not taken. Any activity against Shivaji would have brought them face to face against the three greatest generals in the Deccan—Shivaji, Aurangzeb and Shahaji.

After the subjugation of Golconda, "Aurangzeb began active preparations for the invasion of Bijapur. He tried to seduce as many Adil Shahy nobles and vassals as he could, Shivaji then wrote a letter to Mustafat Khan, the Moghal Governor of Ahmednagar, offering to join the imperialists, if his desires were granted."² To this a conciliatory reply was given, in accordance with Aurangzeb's policy of "keeping the path of correspondence with him open." An envoy from Shivaji approached Aurangzeb directly at Aurangabad and reported his demands. The Prince replied in "re-assuring and friendly terms so as to make him more devoted to the Imperial cause than before." This correspondence seems to have passed in December 1656 or the next month, though the letter to Mustafat Khan may have been written as early as the preceding August.

Aurangzeb's preparations for the invasion of Bijapur were now complete, he now wanted a pretext to open hostilities with that kingdom. On November 4, 1656,

2. Prof. J. Sarkar's Shivaji P. 59. Prof. Sarkar would do well if the letter is published that "desires of Shivaji" can be ascertained.

Mohamad Adil Shah, after a lingering illness, died at Bijapur and, Alli Adil Shah, his son 19 years old, was declared Sultan by the courtiers, under the regency of the Queen Dowager. But Aurangzeb did not acknowledge him, saying that he was not a son of the last Sultan. He crossed the frontier and advanced into the Adil Shahy territories. Hasty preparations were made by the Court of Bijapur, strong garrisons were posted into the frontier places and the best generals took the field with all expedition. Shirji Rao Ghatage, Baji Ghorpade, Nimbalkar and other Maratha Jangirdars promptly joined Khan Mahmad the Bijapur general. But the successful advance of Aurangzeb commenced in March 1657, the Fort of Kalyani was reduced almost immediately and Bidar fell to the Moghals in one day. Gulbarga was carried by assault and the march of Aurangzeb was successfully prosecuted. The attack of the horse, the Maratha Bargeers, presented greater obstacles to his march than any he had yet experienced; but Aurangzeb succeeded in corrupting Khan Mahmad and the road was thus left open for Aurangzeb to invest the capital before the inhabitants had leisure to make preparations to stand the siege.³

The campaign of Aurangzeb was so far successful that he was before the gates of the city of Bijapur, and the city would soon have fallen but Aurangzeb had to divert his re-inforcements to Ahmednagar to oppose Shivaji's movements. Aurangzeb was trying his best to win over

Shivaji to his cause. The Maratha was no doubt writing letters to Aurangzeb, but it is doubtful if ever he intended to see the subversion of Bijapur by active co-operation with the Moghals or at least by passive neutrality. He knew that Shahaji, his father, had not joined the Moghals, when they pressed for subjugation of Ahmednagar, and had taken the young Sultan under his direct protection and waged an exhaustive war with the Moghals. The same policy he would adopt and stand by the Adil Shahy court, even though he knew that Aurangzeb would willingly acknowledge his rights over the forts and territories won and occupied by him in recent years. Aurangzeb's negotiations were still going on, and we find in a letter dated April 23, 1657 Aurangzeb writing to Shivaji in the most gracious terms. He recognised Shivaji as the lord of all the territories in his occupation and he called upon him as an ally to rejoice in his recent successes. "Day by day" wrote the Moghal, "we are becoming more victorious. See, the impregnable Bidar fort, never before taken, and Kalyani, never stormed even in men's dreams, have fallen in a day." But the victories which so gratified Aurangzeb gave little pleasure to Shivaji. The Moghals were more noxious to him than the troops of Bijapur. He tried to make a diversion in favour of Alli Adil Shah by invading the Moghal provinces.⁴

It may be presumed that in their calamity the authorities at Bijapur must have called upon Shivaji, their

vassal who was in a position to cause an effective diversion, to co-operate against the Moghals. Shivaji was not to be satisfied with the vague promises of favour and protection made by Aurangzeb, a first-class master of statecraft. He willingly accepted to support the Adil Shahy government, as his father had supported the Nizam Shah of Ahmednagar, by attacking the south-western corner of the Moghal Deccan, the districts of Junnar and Ahmednagar, the former of which was before the cession of 1636 his ancestral property and birth-place.

While the forces of Aurangzeb were concentrated at the siege of Bidar, two Maratha captains of Shivaji, Minaji Bhonsle at the head of 3000 horse and Kashi crossed the Bhima and plundered the Moghal villages in the Chamargonda and Raisin sub-divisions respectively late in March 1657. They carried devastation and alarm to the very gates of Ahmednagar, the most notable city in the Moghal Deccan. While Minaji was plundering the Ahmednagar district, Shivaji himself marched into Junnar and one night scaled the walls of the city with ropeladders and slaughtering the guards carried off 300,000 hons and 200 horses.

So effective was the diversion caused by these movements of the Marathas that Aurangzeb issued orders to his commanders, who were re-inforcing his divisions into the eastern part of the Bijapur territories, to divert their re-inforcements to Ahmednagar. The Governor of Ahmednagar also advanced against the Marathas. Aurangzeb's letters to his generals breathed fury and revenge they

must beat the raiders back from the Imperial dominions and make reprisals by entering Shivaji's land from all sides, "wasting the villages, slaying the people without pity and plundering them to the extreme; Shivaji's possessions Poona and Chakan must be utterly ruined, and not the least remissness shown in slaying and enslaving the people; the village head-men and peasants of the Imperial territory, who had secretly abetted the enemy must be slain without pity." Further orders were issued to pursue the Marathas and extirpate them. But this could not be done, the Moghal horses were too tired and the rains setting in, the Moghal officers fell back on their appointed stations.⁵

Still the campaign against Bijapur was vigorously pushed on by the Moghals. The nobles of Bijapur being afraid opened negotiations of peace, but in September 1657 the news of the illness of Shah Jehan reached Aurangzeb and the situation was completely changed. Bijapur made peace with the Moghals and Shivaji was left alone to prosecute the war with the northern conquerors. Believing that the Adil Shahy dynasty was on the verge of extinction, Shivaji wrote to Nasir Khan, the Moghal commander, offering submission and the Khan replied in a conciliatory tone. Then Shivaji, as requested, sent a trusty agent (probably Raghunath Bellal) to the Khan to state his demands. These were reported to Aurangzeb, but no definite agreement followed. Shivaji

now sent Raghunatpant to Aurangzeb who was just starting on his march to Northern India; and Aurangzeb wrote to Shivaji in reply, "though your offences do not deserve pardon, I forgive you as you have repented. You propose that if you are granted all the villages belonging to your home (i.e. Shivaji's old Jahgeer) together with the forts and territories of Konkan, after the imperialists have seized the old Nizam Shahy territory, now in the hands of Adil Shah, you will send Sona Pandit as your envoy to my court and a contingent of 500 horse under one of your officers to serve me, and you will protect the Imperial frontiers, you are called upon to send Sonaji and your prayers will be granted."⁶

Grant Duff writes (Vol. I 164) that Shivaji revived his pretensions to certain hereditary claims within the Moghal districts, and pointed out the Deshmukhee of Junnar and Ahmednagar and some part of the family Jahgeer, as a fit recompence for serving with his troops.

While Aurangzeb was thus trying to soothe the Maratha into silence, he wrote to Meer Joomla—"At Nasir Khan's departure that district (of Ahmednagar) has been left vacant. Attend to it, as the *son of a dog* is waiting for his opportunity." Again Adil Shah was thus urged by Aurangzeb—"Protect this country. Expel Shivaji who has sneaked into the possession of some forts of the land. If you wish to entertain his services, give him

⁶Parasnis Ms., letter 5 quoted by Prof. J. Sarkar
—Page 66.

Jahgeer in the Karnatic far from the Imperial dominions so that he may not disturb them.''⁷

Aurangzeb before leaving the Deccan made proper arrangements for the defence of the Frontier. The old and ruined fort of Pedgaon beyond the north bank of the Bhima was repaired and garrisoned. A strong army was posted at Ahmednagar and strict orders were issued to watch the movements of the Marathas. Shivaji too was now freed from all fear of the Moghals by the war of succession which kept Aurangzeb busy for the next two years, 1658 and 1659. This long period, Shivaji devoted to strengthen his position in his newly founded Kingdom.

CHAPTER XIII.

INVASION OF AFZUL KHAN.

After the invasion of the Moghals rolled back, the Bijapur government became sensible of the necessity of making an active effort to subdue Shivaji. Letters were written to Shahaji at Banglore, but in answer he wrote that his son was not under his guidance and that the government was free to punish him without any consideration for his father's feelings. On receipt of this answer the nobles of Bijapur thought of measures to be taken for crushing Shivaji by force. It was not an easy task, Shivaji's military strength was not despicable and the nobles shrank from the idea of a campaign among the hills and jungles of Sahyadri. Late in August 1659 a Durbar was held, attended by many nobles of note, where the Queen-mother, Badi Saheba, called upon any one to undertake the task of punishing Shivaji. Afzul Khan undertook it boastfully declaring that he would capture Shivaji without even dismounting from his horse. Soon after Afzul Khan at the head of 12000 horse and a division of infantry and a large retinue, and accompanied by other generals of note, started on an expedition against Shivaji.

With his large army, Afzul Khan arrived at Tuljapur where he made a halt and entering the temple of Shri Bhawani, the goddess of Shivaji's family, he broke it up

and reduced it to powder in a mill.¹ Thence he marched on to Pandbarpur, and having polluted the holy shrine there left for Wai. On his arrival there in the Krishna valley, he determined to send an envoy to Shivaji at Pratapgad with the object of opening negotiations of peace and to effect the capture or murder of Shivaji by pretending friendship with him.² On this mission he sent one Krishnaji Bhaskar with a message :—"A long friendship has been formed between your father and myself through my influence I shall secure to you a kingdom or a Jahgeer in Konkan and possession of all forts captured by you. Your dignity will be raised and a large *Saranjam* [*i.e.* Jahgeer and military equipment] will be granted to you."

On arrival of the envoy and hearing the message, Shivaji determined to make his army ready for the struggle at Javli. His men advised him to continue negotiations, but being fully aware of the fate of his brother at Kanakgiri he resolved to face the ordeal of war. A council of all advisers was held, where he declared his intention of winning the war or courting death. He was, however, prepared to take every precaution in the case of his defeat or death. He asked his men to remove Jeejabai and Sambhaji to

1. Considering the large numbers of Maratha nobles, Shiledars and common soldiers in Bijapur army and influential civil officers, the author views this incident as a myth of those who deified Shivaji.

2. Prof. J. Sarkar [*Shivaji and his times* page 69] quotes a letter from the English factors at Rajpur to council at Surat.—"Against Shivaji this year the Queen sent to Abdoulla Khan with an army of 10,000 horse and foot and because she knew with that strength he was not able to resist Shivaji, she counselled him to pretend friendship with his enemy, which he did. And the other [*i.e.* Shivaji], whether through intelligence or suspicion it is not known, dissembled his love toward him &c.

Rajgad and to continue his work in the name of Sambhaji. He issued orders to his Surnobat Netaji Palkar, who after the defeat of Shamraj Nilkanth was organising an army under the direct command of Ragho Ballal Atre to seize Janjira, to arrive with that general and all his army on the uplands in the neighbourhood of Javli; while Moropant Peshwa, Shamrao Nilkanth and Trimbak Bhaskar were ordered from Konkan to be ready to attack at a moment's notice.

Shivaji then received the enemy's envoy and had an audience with him in public, when Shivaji expressed his willingness to see the Khan; but he wanted an assurance of safety and proposed, therefore, to despatch his own envoy to Afzul with orders to invite him to Javli. Afzul's envoy was given a dress and he returned to his master accompanied by Pantaji Gopinath, Shivaji's envoy, Pantaji saw the Khan at Wai, when on behalf of his master he invited the Bijapur general to Javli. The Khan fearing treachery would not accept the invitation, unless Gopinath, a Brahmin, was prepared to stand surety for him. Gopinath persuaded him to believe in his master's good intentions and to agree to make that concession of going to Javli.

Soon after, he set out with his 12000 followers, with field batteries elephants and camels loaded with guns. He descended by the Radtondi Ghat³ and encamped in

³ Present Parghat below the Government House at Mahableshwar.

the valley near Javli. Pantaji went up to Pratapgad and informed Shivaji of the Khan's arrival. It was decided that Shivaji should descend from the fort and the Khan should advance from his camp, and somewhere in the middle a meeting place should be arranged, where Shivaji soon after set up for the interview a splendid tent, richly decorated with gorgeous carpets and cushions worthy of a royal guest,

On the day of meeting, Shivaji dressed himself with a chain armour under his tunic, and below his turban he placed a steel cap for the protection of the skull. He wore on his short trousers and armed himself with a set of steel claws [wagh-nakh] and a small scorpion-shaped dagger. He was accompanied by Jivmahala, a brave fellow armed with a putta, a sword and a shield, and Sambhaji Kawaji similarly armed. As the party was about to descend from the fort, a saintly female figure appeared in their midst. It was Jeejabai. Shivaji bowed to his mother. She blessed him saying. "Victory be yours", and solemnly charged his companions to keep him safe; they vowed obedience.

The Khan also left the camp, accompanied by a detachment of riflemen numbering 1000 or 1500. Pantaji, approaching the Khan, informed him that if Afzul marched at the head of such a large body, Shivaji being afraid would not come down and no interview would take place. So leaving his followers behind he marched on in his Parkhi, accompanied by two officers and a famous swordsman Sayyad Banda. Just at

this time Shivaji was advancing down the hill, then on seeing Sayyad Banda halted and sent to demand that the man should be removed from the tent. This was done and Shivaji entered the pavillion.

On the approach of Shivaji, Afzul Khan advancing a few steps opened his arms to receive the Maratha in his embrace. Suddenly Afzul tightened his clasp and held Shivaji's neck in his armpit, and taking a sharp dagger out of its case struck at the side of Shivaji. The chain armour rendered the blow harmless. Shivaji in a moment recovered from the surprise and with a blow of the steel claws, kept hidden in his left arm, he tore out the Khan's bowels and with the right arm he drove his scorpion-shaped dagger into Afzul's side. With a rush Shivaji freed himself from the deadly grasp, jumped down from the platform and ran away from the tent. The Khan gave the alarm by his loud cries, when his bhois, Palkhi-bearers, brought in his Palkhi and were hurrying on to their camp. Sambhaji Cawaji, approaching at the same time, cut off the legs of the Bhois, dropped the Palkhi down, and severing the head of the Khan with his sword flew out with it to Shivaji. Sayyad Banda, who was standing at a distance now furiously rushed on Shivaji who, snatching the Patta of Jivmahala defended himself very bravely. Jivmahala ran to the assistance of his master and with his sword cut off the arms of Sayyad Banda, which fell down with the deadly weapon. Shivaji taking the head of the enemy went up on the fort with all his followers.

On his arrival on the fort, a gun was fired, when the Maratha soldiers lying in ambush on the surrounding hillsides fell upon the army of Bijapur. A dreadful fight followed. In which the whole army of Afzul Khan was annihilated. Thousands were slain on the battlefield, while rivers of blood flew. Immense were the gains of the Marathas, all the stores animals fell into the victor's hand. Among them were 65 elephants, 4000 horses and 1200 camels.

After the splendid victory, Shivaji held, at the foot of the fort, a grand review of the victorious army, where he gave rich presents to his officers and soldiers. The heirs of those who fell on the battlefield were rewarded; and pensions were sanctioned to widows and other helpless dependents, while grown up sons and other relatives were enlisted in the army. Letters announcing the victory were soon despatched to all civil and military officers of the state and commandants of the forts.

Among the Marathas, the destruction of Afzul Khan caused the wildest exultation; it marked the dawn of their national independence. The defeat of Bijapur was complete and the incident caught hold of the public imagination of Maharashtra, wild rumours of Shivaji's divinity spread abroad and the idea of an independent Hindu Swarajya in Maharashtra flashed as an inspiration in the hearts of the poor inhabitants of the country. Soon a ballad was composed by the wandering bards. Every class of Marathas, from the officers of the court to

the soldiers in their camps and peasants in the hamlets welcomed the minstrel, and crowded together to listen to this story of the first glorious triumph of their national hero.

CHAPTER XIV.

WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

The invasion of Afzul Khan was not a solitary attempt made by the government of Bijapur to suppress the dubious activities of Shivaji. The vassal chief of Dunda Rajapur, who, after the treaty of 1636, had been recognised as the Admiral of Bijapur, though deprived of many forts and dependent territories by Shivaji at the outset of his career, still owned the impregnable fortress of Dunda Rajapur and a safe fort in the creek, known as Janjira. He too was called upon by the Bijapur court to co-operate and attack Shivaji's territories from the west. The Siddi chief of Janjira maintained an efficient fleet of 40 sail on the plunder of the sea-coast towns, and his power on the western coast of India was almost unassailable on account of the prosperous trade carried on by the Siddis with ports in the Persian Gulf, Egypt and the east coast of Africa. Immediately after the monsoons had subsided in 1659, when Afzul Khan was advancing against Shivaji from the east, Fath Khan, the brave Bijapur representative at Janjira seized the opportunity of invading Shivaji's possessions from the west. He tried to recover the forts and other districts and laid siege to Tala. But his attack proved fruitless and on hearing of the destruction of the Bijapur army up in the Koyna valley he retired in haste and did not venture to attack Shivaji's possessions till after one year, when Ali Adil

garrisons there. Rajapur was spared probably because Rustam Zaman, governor of all western Bijapur possessions was won over by Shivaji and was slow in his operations against Shivaji.

In the meantime at the end of January 1660, Shivaji had encountered and routed near Panhala the combined armies of Rustam and Fazl Khan, a son of Afzul Khan. Fazl Khan bore the brunt of the battle and lost many of his followers, while Rustam retreated to Hukeri with a slight loss. Throughout this campaign, Rustam Zaman who was on terms of enmity with the Queen regent, had only made this show of hostility to save his credit with the king. The fact was well known to the country around [Grant Duff Vol. I 177] and even the English factors at Rajapur had heard of it [Prof. J. Sarkar's Shivaji 293].

The destruction of Afzul Khan and his army, the capture of Panhala, the defeat of the combined forces of Rustam and Fazl Khan, occupation of south Konkan and above all the appearance of Shivaji at the gates of the Capital created an alarm at Bijapur and Ali Adil Shah II felt it necessary to march in person against the powerful Maratha. But just at this time Siddi Johur a powerful nobleman and the fief-holder of Karnool accepted the command and preparations were made to conduct a vigorous campaign against Shivaji. Path Khan of Janjira was prepared to attack Shivaji's possessions in Konkan, while Kay Savant the Deshmukh of Savantwadi a powerful Maratha vassal on the confines of the Portuguese

territories in the south, with his 5000 Maratha infantry, offered to cooperate against Shivaji. Alli Adil Shah collected 10000 horse, 14000 foot and an efficient artillery; and the whole host marched against Shivaji in the Kolhapur region.

- The new kingdom of Shivaji, now in its twelfth year was thus threatened by the government of Bijapur with all its resources. Another and more powerful enemy endangered the security of its northern districts, the original possessions of Shivaji. Aurangzeb, after the settlement of the Empire in the north, turned his attention to the south with the object of subjugating the Deccan kingdoms and the newly rising Maratha Swarajya. Shaista Khan, an able and spirited general was posted to the viceroyalty of the Deccan, and chief among the task entrusted to him was the suppression of Shivaji.

- During the early part of the year 1660, while Shivaji was carrying on with success his vigorous operations in the Kolhapur district, Shaista Khan was rapidly advancing from Ahmednagar into the Poona district. At the head of a large army, including 75000 horse a train of artillery mounted on camels and a large following, Shaista Khan left Ahmednagar on 25th February, marched southwards and, crossing the Bhima far away in the eastern part of the district to find an easy march into the Nira valley to the south of the Purandhar range, arrived at Baramati and then pushed on westward to Shirwal, which he reached on 18th April. A flying column, sent from Shirwal duehS

westward into the wild Mavals at the source of the Nira and near the forts of Rajgad and Torna, sacked the villages in the safest corner of Shivaji's possessions. From Shirwal the Moghal army moved northwards and took possession of Poona on 9th May.

Shivaji, for the first time during the course of his career, was thus encircled on all sides by powerful armies of Bijapur and Delhi, but the national hero of Maharashtra rose to the occasion and defended his kingdom with perseverance and patience worthy of one of the greatest generals of the world. He had secured the services of the best soldiers in Maharashtra sworn to free the land from the grasp of imperial peoples, and now made sound arrangements for the defence of his kingdom. Attacked from all sides, Shivaji distributed his forces and appointed his veteran generals to face the enemy at different places. Raghunath Ballal was opposed to meet Fath Khan, the admiral of Janjira ; Abaji Sondev protected the fort and the districts of Kalyan-Bhiwandi ; Moropant in the upper country was charged with the care of Purandhar, Singhgad, Pratapgad and the adjoining valleys ; Baji Phasalkar the Surnobat or Commander-in-chief of the infantry maintained the war against the Savants of Wadi ; while Shivaji himself resolved to oppose the Bijapur forces in the district of Kolhapur.

² While Shaista Khan was advancing to Poona the Adil Shahy general Siddi Johur, who was honoured by

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the Sultan with the dignified title of Salabat Khan, was on his way to Panhala at the head of a strong army of 20,000 men. Shivaji made no attempt to dispute the approach of the Bijapur army, but as soon as they encamped in the neighbourhood of the fort, Netaji Palkar at the head of the Maratha cavalry began to ravage the surrounding country to cut off the supplies, while detachments of Mavale infantry often sprung on the besiegers and harassed them in all possible ways. In this manner they did great mischief and with little loss on their part killed numbers of the Bijapur troops. Siddi Johur closely invested the place and for several months in the worst season of the year persevered in vigorous efforts to reduce it. For four months Shivaji held out, but the fort having been only recently taken, sufficient provisions were not stored and walls not properly repaired. Netaji Palkar, though ordered to attack the enemy from outside, could not do so effectively and Shivaji, thinking it desirable to abandon the fort to Siddi Johur, retreated from the fort, which was then occupied by the Adil Shahy army.¹

Alli Adil Shah, suspecting treachery on the part of Johur, had followed to the theatre of war. When, however Alli reached Miraj and his van guards advanced nearear to Panhala, Shivaji stepped out of the fort with most of his followers. Shivaji's escape from the fort was soon detected and a strong Bijapur force under Johur's son Siddi Aziz aad Fazl Khan, set out in pursuit of him. Shivaji was on full march towards Rangana and his

pursuers did not overtake him till he was within six miles of Rangana and till morning was far advanced. To cover his retreat Shivaji had posted a body of Mavales under the command of the famous Baji Prabhu Deshpande of Hirdas Maval with orders to hold the approach of the pass until a signal of five guns announced the arrival of the main body at the fort. The Deshpande was worthy of the honourable post, the Bijapur cavalry in attempting to advance were driven back ; and on the arrival of the infantry two successive assaults of the fresh troops were gallantly repulsed. About noon a third party of infantry, headed by the son of Afzul Khan, advanced in a most determined manner. Their attack was desperate and the brave defenders in spite of the loss of half their members, amongst whom was the gallant Deshpande, beat off the bloody assault. But their object had been effected, Baji Prabhu heard the signal guns before he fell and died expressing his satisfaction. The Mavales proved their regard for the captain by bearing off his body in the face of their numerous pursuers.⁸

Fazl Khan advanced and halted at Rangana, but the Siddi's plans were completely disconcerted. Alli Adil Shah disappointed in his hopes, was easily induced to believe that Siddi Johur had been bribed by Shivaji. He took the field in person and again invested Panhala, of which as well as of Pawangad he obtained possession. Siddi Johur, dreading of the malice of the courtiers,

withdrew towards Karnool, the place of his government and Jahgeer. A desultory war continued for some months in the district of Kolhapur. Some minor forts and stations were recovered by the Sultan's forces, but they were unable to dislodge the Marathas from Rangana and Vishalgad³. The monsoon now setting in, Alli Shah retired eastward and encamped at Chimalgy on the banks of the Krishna at the end of May 1661.

While thus the Bijapuris were pressing the Marathas in the south near Kolhapur, the Moghals under Shaista Khan were occupying the northern part of the Poona district. The Moghal general was here joined by two officers of Shivaji, with whose assistance the task of reducing Poona was made easy. Babaji Rammohan, Deshpande of Prant Poona, had already joined the Moghals at Burhanpur, and now a strong Maratha captain of the Paga horse named Sambhaji who could raise even horses, joined Shaista Khan with his squadron.⁴ Besides the official history of Aurangzeb mentions two Maratha generals, Babaji Bhonslay and Raghuji, co-operating with their contingents of Maratha horse against Shivaji's forces.⁵ Shaista Khan, after the fall of Poona, decided to pass the rainy season in that town, but the Marathas had totally destroyed the grain and fodder in the country. And now the many rivers between Poona

³ Chitnis 54.

⁴ Chitnis 77.

⁵ Prof. J. Sarkar's Shivaji 92.

and the Moghal frontier being in floods, no provisions reached his camp and his army had to undergo many hardships from scarcity. He, therefore, decided to remove his camp from Poona to Chakan, 18 miles northwards as being nearer to Ahmadnagar and the Moghal dominions, whence supplies could more easily reach him. Chakan is a place of great strategic importance. Lying on the banks of the Bhima, the frontier between the Moghal and Shivaji's dominions, it lay directly on the route between Ahmednagar and the hilly regions of the Marathas. Moreover, it is only 31 miles due east of the Bor pass and commands the shortest route from Ahmednagar to Konkan.

Leaving Poona on 19th June, the Khan arrived in the vicinity of Chakan and invested the fort. For fifty-four days Chakan was besieged by the Moghals, and the brave Maratha Killedar, Firangaji Nasarala, defended the place to the last. On 14th August, one of the mines laid by the Moghals to blow up the fortifications was exploded and a breach was effected, through which the Moghals rushed to the assault, but found to their surprise that behind the breach the Marathas had thrown up a high embankment which they held in force and from the shelter of which they assailed the Moghals with rockets, musket shots, bombs, and stones. The storming party was checked with heavy loss, but clung to the blood-stained ground for the night. Next morning they resumed the attack, scaled the wall and captured the main fort, putting many of the garrison to the sword

and driving the rest into the citadel, which was capitulated in a short time. Firangaji Nasarala, an old captain trained under the military discipline of Shahaji, had defended the post with tireless energy for nearly two months. On the two days of assault he disputed every inch of the ground. And now hopeless of any aid from his master, who was similarly invested in the fort of Panhala, by a powerful army of Bijapur, capitulated with honour. Shaista Khan admired the gallant Killedar and pressed him to enter the imperial service. But he refused to prove false to his rising Maratha nation, and was allowed to go back to Shivaji with his army.

The capture of Chakan was followed by the return of Shaista Khan to Poona, where he took up his residence ; while his detachments continued to improve the Moghal hold on north Konkan. The Moghal forces marching from Trimbak and Shivneri forts along the Sahyadri down into Konkan, pressed their advance westwards, and concentrating their attack on Kalyan occupied it with its dependency in January 1661. The occupation of Poona and Kalyan exhausted the energy of the Moghals and for two years after the first success, they could do nothing but hold out in that district. Moropant Pingale, charged with the defence of the Purandhar range, successfully obstructed the Moghal advance, though attempts made to recover Poona and Kalyan proved fruitless.

The Marathas, at this time, were hard pressed by the simultaneous campaigns vigorously carried on by the

Moghals and the Bijapuris Under this double pressure they had to retreat to a better line of defence in either theatre of the war. Holding strongly in the Purandhar range, Moropant, the Maratha general in the northern theatre of war, defended the kingdom so bravely against the attacks of the Moghals, that they were afraid to push their conquest further into Shivaji's dominions. In the south also, though retreating from before Kolhapur and Panhala, the Marathas formed a strong line of defence and successfully held out at Rangana and Vishalgad.

For two years the advance of the Moghals and the Bijapuris was successfully checked and the little Maratha Kingdom was saved from being partitioned by the two enemies. Shivaji and his generals were very capable men and would have even driven back the Moghals and the Bijapuris from Poona and Kolhapur respectively, but for the Siddis of Janjira. The restless activities of Shivaji and the rapid movements of the Maratha horse would have dreadfully battered the lines of communication from Ahmednagar and Bijapur to the two theatres of war, and would have completely changed the issue of the war. But the Habshis of Janjira, who maintained a strong fleet on the plunder of the sea-coast towns, molested Shivaji's stations and threatened the very heart of his Kingdom. The whole power of the new Maratha nation, Shivaji utilised for the subjugation of the Habshi stronghold. Having resolved, for strategic reasons and for the safety of his kingdom, to adopt a defensive policy against

the Moghals and the Bijapuris, Shivaji planned an attack on Dunda Rajapur.

After withdrawing from Panhala and making proper arrangements at Rangana and Vishalgad to offer effective resistance to the Adil Shahy forces, Shivaji poured his men into south Konkan. At the beginning of 1661 he appeared before Rajapur, then a great trade centre, and soon occupied the place. The English E. I. Company had a factory at Rajapur and Shivaji captured four of the factors who had assisted Siddi Johur in the bombardment of the fort of Panhala. The Deshmukhs in that tract, who opposed Shivaji, were defeated and forced to submit; while those, who acknowledged his authority, received honourable treatment and were protected.⁶

While south Konkan was thus being reduced, Soyarabai, the second wife of Shivaji gave birth to a son in the month of April on the 9th day of Chaitra Shaka 1583. The child was named Rajaram on the auspicious day when grand celebrations were made on the fort of Rajgad.⁷

Shivaji after those celebrations ascended the Ghats and appeared in the upper valley of the Krishna and advanced far in the east "to strike terror in the rowdy and rapacious chiefs, Nimbalkars and Ghatages" ruling

6 Prof. J. Sarkar's Shivaji 298-99.

7 Sabhasad 54.

as Adil Shahy Jahgirdars among the eastern spurs of the Shambhu Mahadev range, and returned to the hills.

Operations against the Habshis of Janjira had already begun. Fath Khan, an enemy like "a mouse hiding in his hole", was out investing and attempting to capture forts of Shivaji. His sailors attacked places on the coast. Impregnable was his position and Shivaji had no means to attack him on the sea-side. He therefore caused to be constructed janjires, or sea-coast forts, at suitable places. Shivaji did not however, wait for the construction of an efficient fleet and, determind to attack the Habshi in his own place, sent Baji Phasalkar, Deshmukh of Moose Khore, at the head of a strong body of Mavale infantry to invade his capital. When Baji Phasalkar appeared before Dunda Rajapuri, "Kay Savant, a captain under the chief of Janjira attacked him".⁸ A duel took place, Kay Savant and Baji Phasalkar met each other in a desperate combat. Both receiving many wounds fell on the ground completely exhausted and died soon after, when the opposing armies retired to their camps.

After this strange encounter, Shivaji now tried to remove from Janjira the Habshi chief, whom he considered a dangerous enemy. Raghunath Ballal Subnis was sent on a new expedition against him with 7000 select Mavale soldiers. The advance of Raghunath was marked

⁸ There is some misunderstanding about Kaysawant. He is supposed by some to be Savant of Wadi a vassal of Bijapur, Chitnis is clear in his statement quoted above [Page 54], while Nabhasad at page 55 describes the duel, while writing about the campaign against the Habshi Chief.

by splendid success: all the districts dependent on the forts of Tala and Ghosala were occupied and even the sea coast as far south as Rajapur was cleared of the enemy. Skirmishes took place, in which detachments of the enemy were completely routed. At this an envoy from the Habshi chief entered the camp of Raghunathpant with whom a treaty of peace was arranged and Dunda Rajapuri was formally ceded to the Marathas. (August 1661).

• But Ragunathpant dying in the meantime, the foreign chief, Habshi Admiral of Adil Shah, changed his mind and war was renewed. Shivaji sent his general Venkaji Datto, on whose advance into the Habshi territory, three hundred of the enemy were killed and many horses were captured. In all the engagements with the enemy's forces, Venkaji Datto fought very gallantly, though he had received twelve wounds on his body. The ruler of Janjira again opened negotiations, but no peace was arranged and the occupied country was firmly held. Even a hill, commanding the sea-girt fort of Janjira, was fortified and garrisoned with a strong guard. However the Habshi chief, though surrounded on all sides, could not be vanquished, as he was receiving provisions from over the sea. To stop this supply, the Maratha national hero created a fleet of 200 ships of various shapes and sizes and appointed two admirals one a Muhammadan by name Darya Sagar and the other a Bhandari by name Mai Naik. Occasional skirmishes took place on the sea and many ships of the Habshi were taken prizes. The sailors of Shivaji now

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carried terror to all the parts on the western coast and Shivaji was supplied with provisions of various sorts.⁹

At the close of 1661, while the main portion of the army of Bijapur was encamped at Chimalgy, northern parts of Karnatic were disturbed by petty rebellions. Siddi Johur, who held the fief of Karnool in that part, had already retired to his Jahgeer owing to the displeasure of the King. He was commissioned to suppress the revolts in Karnatic, as the King's first intention was to prosecute the war with Shivaji. But Siddi Johur showed no readiness to comply and rebellions continued to disturb the peace in the dominions of Bijapur beyond the Toongabhadra. At this juncture, the Deshmukh of Savantwadi sent proposals for reducing Shivaji, provided he was properly supported.

In South Konkan there was a powerful Maratha chief, Lakham Savant Desai of Kudal. As early as 1650 Lakham Savant tendered his allegiance to Shivaji. But after the defeat of Shamraj by Fath Khan of Janjira, Lakham wavered in his allegiance. However Shivaji retrieved his loss and Lakham again made peace with him and bound himself to pay one-half revenue to Shivaji and to maintain 3,000 infantry for his use. But when Siddi Johur on one side and Fath Khan from Janjira on the other attacked Shivaji's possessions, he, to please the King of Bijapur, offered to attack Shivaji. The occupation of south Konkan by Shivaji's forces threatened the possession of the Savant chief and now he sent messages to the court of Bijapur that he would attack Shivaji and

recover Konkan, whereupon a great general, Khawas Khan, was sent from Bijapur with 10000 horse. Lakham Savant joined him with an army of 12000 Marathas; and operations to relieve Konkan from Shivaji's hold were commenced early in 1662. Another division of the Bijapur horse, being the Maratha contingent of the chief of Mudhol, was ordered to march to Kudal under the command of the chief Baji Ghorpade, who had treacherously imprisoned Shahaji, at the siege of Jinji. Shivaji who was always well-informed of the movements of the enemy, resolved to fall upon Baji Ghorpade, before he joined the main army under Khawas Khan. Accordingly he went to Vishalgad and from thence made a rapid march across the country, surprised and killed Ghorpade with all his relations and thus avenged his father's wrong. In the battle that was fought Shivaji captured 1200 horse.

After the destruction of the division of Baji Ghorpade, Shivaji returned to Vishalgad and made preparations for an attack on Khawas Khan at Kudal; but that general, being frightened at the fate of Ghorpade, ascended the Ghats and marched back straight to Bijapur. Lakham Savant was left alone to fight with Shivaji, who now entered his territories and attacking him on his own ground defeated him and drove him to the south into the Portuguese territories. The Portuguese were afraid of Shivaji and would not give quarters to Lakham Savant, who was, therefore, compelled to come to terms with

Shivaji. Pitambar Shenwi was sent to carry his message of submission to Shivaji. It was arranged that the Deshmukhi rights of the district of Kudal should be given to Lukham Savant and a pension of 6000 *hons* was sanctioned for the Deshmukhi services. Lukham Savant was allowed to live at Kudal, but was required not to build a fortified place, nor to engage an army. His two able generals, Ram Dalvi and Tan Savant, were engaged by Shivaji and being made Hazaris were posted to distant stations. Lakham Savant was not even allowed to see them and they were sent off to their posts, before the arrival of their old master at Kudal.¹⁰

After the defeat of the Siddi chief of Janjira and the subjugation of the Desai of Kudal, all the Maratha gains were organised into a separate province and placed under an able viceroy, Venkaji Datto, with a permanent contingent of five to seven thousand men. Venkaji prepared a chain of forts round Janjira, which effectively prevented the Habshi depredations in that quarter. The Siddis in order "to fill their stomachs", had to direct their piracy against the towns and ports further south in the Ratnagiri district, which had already come under Shivaji's sway. The Maratha King, therefore, resolved to organize a strong navy for the protection of his coast and for the conquest of Janjira, which continued as a thorn in his side. The port of Malvan was selected as his naval base

and a janjira, named Sindhudoorg, was built by Shivaji to guard the approaches to Malvan.

The disturbances in Karnatic beyond the Toongabhadra distracted the attention of Alli Adil Shah and his minister, Abdool Mohamad, to a great extent and we do not see any attempt made by that king, during the course of Shivaji's campaign against the Savants and even in the course of the next year. to subjugate Shivaji, who now occupied the whole of Konkan as far as the Portuguese possessions in the south. Grant Duff [Vol. I. 189] writes that "Abdool Mohamad actually entered into a secret compact with Shivaji. The particulars of this agreement, or the means by which it was brought about are totally unknown; but it is not improbable that it may have been effected through the intervention of Shahaji."

The Sultan of Bijapur, with the Doab (the tract between the Krishna and the Toongabhadra) unsubdued, with his supporter Baji Ghorpade dead and Savants made tributary to Shivaji, was not in a position to renew the war with Shivaji. He appointed Shahaji as his envoy to Shivaji. Shahaji set out from Bijapur and by Tuljapur, Pandharpur and Shingnagur arrived at Jejuri, where Shivaji visited him. They proceeded to Poona, where a treaty was drawn up (in 1662) the terms of which were acceptable both to Shivaji and the Bijapur court. Hostilities between Shivaji and Bijapur were suspended and Shivaji bound himself not to molest the Bijapur possessions at least in the life time of Shivaji. His independence

was acknowledged, while he was left in possession of the conquest from Kalyan to Phonda and from Dabhol to Indapur.¹¹

The particulars of Shahaji's visit to Maharashtra are thus given by Chitnis [Pages 74-75]—"Shahaji, being pleased to hear of the exploits of his son, was very eager to visit his possessions and to see the wise administration he had established. He wrote to his master, the Sultan of Bijapur, requesting permission to visit the holy shrines in the Maratha country. The Sultan gave the permission and allowed him to see his son and to persuade him to go over to Bijapur and to serve the Sultan as Shahaji had been doing. Shahaji now set off for the sacred place of Tuljapur to offer prayers to his family goddess there. From Tuljapur he went to Pandharpur, from where he sent to his son intimation of his arrival and proceeded to offer his prayers to Shambhu Mahadev. Shivaji came forward to see his father, whom he met at Jejuri. Jeejabai accompanied her son and the whole family halted together at the sacred place of Jejuri. Jeejabai and Tookabai greeted each other and Shivaji blessed his younger brother Venkoji Raja. From Jejuri the family moved on to Pratapgad and prayers were offered to Shri Bhawani. Rajgad was next visited, where Shivaji exhibited in full grandeur the pomp and splendour of his new kingdom. Costly presents, worthy of a monarch, were made by Shivaji to his mother Tookabai and brother Venkoji; and other retainers who accompanied his father

were also richly rewarded. Shahaji now took leave of his son and set off for Bijapur on his return journey. On his arrival at Bijapur Shahaji made to Alli Adil Shah an offer of a rich dress of honour and costly jewels, presents given by Shivaji to the Sultan."

During his stay in Maharashtra, Shahaji, visited many of the hill forts of Shivaji. At Rairi, he was impressed with the strength of the place, and advised his son to make it his capital. Abaji Sondev was then entrusted with the work of strongly fortifying the fort and to build palaces and public buildings. Rairi was renamed Raigad, or the royal fort, and henceforth it became the seat of Shivaji's government

After peace was concluded with Shivaji, Alli Adil Shah marched in the Toongabhadra regions to put down the revolts of his nobles, meanwhile the Maratha forces of Shivaji were making firm their hold on south Konkan and the sea-coast towns. His men marched across the country and "all the way as he (Shivaji) goes along, he gives his *qual* (assurance of safety) promising them that neither he nor his soldiers shall in the least do any wrong to anybody that takes his *qual*." At Vengurla the inhabitants rose against Shivaji's authority, but the revolt was put down and the garrison was strengthened. In July the governor of Phonda and other petty Jahgirdars tried to drive Shivaji's men out of Rajapur and Kharcpatan. But nothing was done and Shivaji remained possessed of all.

CHAPTER XV.

SUCCESS OVER THE MOGHALS.

Shivaji made proper arrangements for the peaceful settlement of Konkan and the organization of his navy and now directed his attention to the affairs in connection with the successful prosecution of war against the Moghals on the northern front. During his operations against Bijapur and its vassals, the Moghals did not venture to open a new campaign against Shivaji. The Moghal general Shaista Khan stayed at Poona in the midst of a luxurious camp, and knowing full well the heavy loss which the Moghals had sustained in capturing Chakan, was reluctant to open a campaign in the hills of Maharashtra to reduce the Maratha hill forts. Moropant Pingale was strongly posted in the Purandhar range and Shaista Khan found it a difficult task to dislodge him from his secure position in the hills. So long as fighting with Bijapur continued, Shivaji did not stir to disturb the inactivity of the Moghal viceroy. But now at the beginning of the campaigning season of 1663, he taking the offensive in his own hand sent his commander of the horse Netaji Palkar to co-operate with Moropant in operations against the Moghals. Early in March 1663 Netaji at the head of a division of cavalry, crossed the Bhima into the imperial territories and began to plunder and harass the Moghal stations. Soon a force of 7000 pursued him so closely that he was fain to travel 45 to 50

miles a day. The pursuit was vigorously conducted, till Netaji appeared within five leagues of Bijapur. Rustam Zaman who had always been partial to the Marathas met the Moghals and induced them to give up the pursuit by telling them that the country was dangerous for any foreign army to march in. Netaji got away and was soon ready to join his master at Singhgad.

Shaista Khan, the Moghul viceroy of the Deccan, had, since the seizure of Poona in May 1660, taken up his residence there in that very house, where Shivaji had passed his boyhood. His harem was with him and around his mansion lay other quarters for officers and dependents. Further off, across the road leading southward to Singhgad, lay the camp of his lieutenant, Maharaja Jeswantsing, and his contingent of 10,000 men. Shivaji, on his arrival at Singhgad, resolved to attack Shaista Khan in his own camp at Poona. He ordered two divisions to give battles separately to the imperial forces. One division, consisting of the Paga horse, was placed under the command of Netaji, and the other, consisting of Shiledars and a company of Mavale infantry under his Peshwa Moropant. These two divisions were to attack the imperial camp on the two sides, while he himself, at the head of 1000 picked men and accompanied by two brothers, Babaji Bapuji and Chimnaji Bapuji Deshpande of Khed, advanced to the Moghal camp and, entering it at night, fearlessly made his way to the residence of the Nawab. On their way they were often challenged by the Moghal guards, but the two Deshpande

brothers wisely replied that they were followers of the Moghals. As the night advanced, they arrived at the Nawab's residence, when they divided themselves into two parties and stood on two sides of the residence. Two hundred veterans were speedily picked up by Chimmaji Bapuji who, cutting the canvas enclosure with his own dagger, let them in. Inside there were seven enclosures. Each of them was cut off and the party advanced into the inmost enclosure occupied by Shaista Khan and his seraglio of women and maids. Shaista Khan, seeing that the enemies were in, hid himself among women, knowing well that Shivaji would not touch him, while among women. After a time he freed himself from the company of women and was just taking a sword when, being hit by Shivaji, he lost his three fingers. Alarm spread through the camp and Shivaji slipped out with his men and soon joined Netaji and Moropant.

Next day the Moghal officers came to see their commander, when Shaista Khan expressed that Shivaji was a dangerous fellow and that he could not rely upon his own men. He, therefore, expressed his intention of marching back to Delhi. Accordingly on the third day after the occurrence he set out for the north on 8th April 1663.

The daring of the Maratha hero was rewarded by an immense increase of his prestige. He was taken by the enemy to be an incarnation of Satan. No place was believed to be proof against his entrance and no feat

impossible for him. The whole country talked with astonishment and terror of the almost superhuman deed done by him. The Moghal viceroy was surprised and wounded in the heart of his camp, in his very bed-chamber, within the inner ring of his bodyguards and female slaves. There was bitter humiliation and sorrow in the Emperor's court and family circle at the disaster to his maternal uncle and the premier peer of his Empire.

- Shaista Khan, in his present state of grief and mortification accused Jeswantsing of neglect and wrote to the Emperor, stating his suspicions of Jeswant's having been bribed by Shivaji. Aurangzeb on hearing of the disaster recalled Shaista Khan and appointed him to the viceroyalty of Bengal. Prince Muazzim was sent as viceroy of the Deccan and Jeswa tsing was retained as second in command under the Prince. Jeswantsing had, after the disgrace of Shaista Khan at Poona and after his withdrawal to Aurangabad, made feeble attempt to invest Singhgad, the then residence of Shivaji, but had been unable to prosecute the siege. He had left strong detachments at Chakan and Junnar and had retired with the main body of the army to Aurangabad for safety.

While thus the government of Aurangabad was distracted by the presence of the Marathas in the Moghal Deccan and no definite action was being taken to oppose the advance of the Marathas from their hills, Shivaji performed a feat of even greater audacity than he ever displayed before. Moropant had already advanced

far into the Moghal territories and had captured some forts beyond Shivneri in the north. With the object of visiting the forts just taken by him, Shivaji proceeded to the north and made a rapid march with 4000 horse towards Surat, which he looted from 6th to 10th January 1664, and returned with the same rapidity to his hills.

On his arrival at Raigad, Shivaji received news of the death of his father, who on his way to Bijapur fell from his horse at Bogdari in the district of Chitradroorg and died immediately. On receipt of this news, Jeejabai expressed her wish to accompany him in death and burn herself alive ; but she was prevented by Shivaji sitting in her lap.²

We have seen that on account of the disturbances in Karnatic and in the Doab, the government of Bijapur was forced to come to terms with Shivaji. Among the nobles of the court none was so powerful and so faithful to the Sultan as Shahaji, and Alli Adil Shah, knowing full well that Shahaji only was able to put down the rebellions in Karnatic, appointed him to the command of the Bijapur army engaged in the Doab. The Sultan also left Bijapur and proceeded to the south to direct the operations. With the aid of Shahaji and Bahlol Khan, the disaffected nobles were subjugated and forced to acknowledge the authority of the Sultan. Disturbances in the confines of the kingdom being put down, the Adil Shah was able to send Shahaji into the territories of the Raja of Bednur.

He was a Jangam² (of the class of persons who officiate as priests to the Lingayats), and, during the course of his long reign from 1618 to 1653, had stretched his sway over the whole of Kanara. The north-western corner of Mysore was also included in his kingdom. At the close of his career, he threatened Sunda, the Hindu ruler of which had acknowledged the suzerainty of Bijapur. The Raja of Bednur, Shivappa Naik, had conquered Sunda and other forts in Kanara belonging to the vassals of Bijapur, Bankapur, a favourite residence of the Sultan, lying close to Sunda was also endangered by the Jangam Raja. The Bijapur force marched into his territories; and Shahaji defeated the Raja in a pitched battle, and investing Bednur forced the chief to surrender all his lands except Bednur and the district around it. Sunda was restored to his former chief. Having thus reduced the Raja of Bednur, Shahaji marched triumphantly along the north bank of the Toongabhadra. While in this expedition one day he left his camp for a day's black buck hunting. As he rode, a creeper caught his horse's foreleg. It fell and Shahaji, thrown violently, broke his leg. On seeing the accident, his attendants galloped, but life was extinct before they reached their master (January 1664). They at once sent word to his son Venkoji, who hastened to the Doab from Tanjore. There he performed his funeral rites. The Bijapur government expressed most handsomely their appreciation of the dead man's services and bestowed his fiefs of Bangalore and Tanjore on his son Venkoji.³

On Shahaji's death, Shivaji assumed the hereditary title of Raja granted by the King of Ahmednagar to Maloji. He established a mint at Raigad to show his complete independence of Bijapur and struck in his own name both gold and copper coins.

In spite of the successes of the Sultan faithfully supported by Shahaji, disturbances in the Toongabhadra regions continued to multiply after the death of Shahaji. The vassal chiefs evinced a spirit of insubordination, while the Raja of Bednur threatened the south-western corner of the Bijapur kingdom. Shivaji resolved to avenge his father's death by attacking the Doab chiefs, whose rebellion had indirectly caused the death. He sent into the Doab a force of cavalry and guns and levied a large contribution. The Bijapur government, to whom the rebels had caused continuous trouble, in no way resented the invasion; on the contrary, they granted the village, wherein Shahaji had fallen, as an inam to his son, *i.e.*, Shivaji collected the revenue and Bijapur retained the jurisdiction.⁴

The war with Bednur was also renewed. Shivappa had died and his son Somshekhar was murdered and an infant was set up on the throne by Timmaya Naik. Throughout the year 1664 Alli Adil Shah was fighting with Timmaya and the coast regions were also in an unhappy condition, which is thus described by the English merchants of Karwar. "Deccan and all the

south coasts are all embroiled in civil wars. King against King and country against country, and Shivaji reigns victoriously and uncontrolled, that he is a terror to all Kings and princes round about, daily increasing in strength. He hath now fitted up four more vessels and sent them to Bhatkal and thereabouts, whilst he intends to meet them overland with a flying army of horse."⁵

In December 1664, he sent 300 horsemen to Hubli and plundered the town; the Marathas were said to have been assisted by some of Rustam's soldiers. In February of the next year, Shivaji left Malvan with a fleet of 85 frigates and three large ships, sailed past Goa to Basrur which he plundered and landed at the holy city of Gokarn, to take part in the holy bath festival before the great temple of Mahableswar on the Shivratra day. He then marched to Ankola and arrived at Karwar. An indemnity subscribed by the merchants, and to which the English contributed L. 112, was paid to Shivaji, who then returned to Vengurla. Sabhasad,⁶ describes this naval expedition in the following manner. Basnur was a rich famous town on the coast belonging to the Raja of Bednur. Shivaji sent reconnoitering parties to discover a direct route to the city on the coast. But reports being brought that there was no route from above the Ghats, Shivaji ordered his fleet to be ready for a sea-attack. He

⁵ Prof. J. Sarkar's Shivaji 305.

⁶ Sabhasad 58.

set out on the expedition on one of his ships and arrived near Basnur early in the morning. When the forces landed, the citizens offered no resistance. For one day it was plundered and Shivaji returned with the plunder valued at two crores of *hons*.

CHAPTER XVI.

JEYSING AND SHIVAJI.

The failure of Shaista Khan, sack of Surat and the numerous aggressions committed by Shivaji, necessitated Aurangzeb to take for more active measures against him. But above all the assumption by Shivaji of the title of Raja and the privilege of coining, now exercised by him, caused bitter mortification to Aurangzeb. He decided to send his ablest generals to the Deccan to prosecute a vigorous campaign against him. His choice fell upon Mirza Raja Jeyasing and under him was deputed Dilir Khan as second in command. "A large and magnificent army, consisting of 80,000 horse, was despatched under him and a Muhammadan officer of rank, Dilir Khan, at the head of 5000 select Pathans, was ordered to accompany him to see that the Rajput general did not make common cause with the Hindu Shivaji."¹ The Maratha historian was, however, wrong in giving expression to such suspicions about Jeyasing. His career in the Moghal service, since his first appointment in the army in 1617, had been one of undimmed brilliancy and he had fought under the Imperial banner in every part of the Empire. Hardly a year had passed, when the Rajput had not seen active service somewhere and received some promotion for conspicuous merit. His marked ability had found recognition in his being given

¹ Sabhasad 31.

the command of the van or one of the wings of the Moghal armies, led by princes of the blood, in campaigns beyond India. In diplomacy he had attained to a success surpassing even his victories in the field. Wherever there was a difficult or delicate work to be done, the Emperor had only to turn to Jeysing. Age and experience had cooled the impetuous ardour of his youth, and he now employed stratagem to force, and bribe in preference to war. His foresight and political cunning, his smoothness of tongue and cool calculating policy and his military fame marked him out as the best man to undertake the task of subduing Shivaji.²

Shivaji was not an ordinary enemy. In less than 12 years, he had grown great enough to baffle all the resources of Bijapur and to challenge the prestige of the Empire of Delhi. However meanly his character has been depicted, the object of his military enterprises was to defy the Moghals of the north, who were trying to destroy the independence of the Deccan monarchies, and to keep Maharastra beyond the pale of northern conquerors; and not "no annexation but mere plunder" as the Bangalee historian suggests [page 481]. His kingdom was now sufficiently large and besides his strong well-organized army and navy, he had developed a sound machinery of civil administration, a parallel to which could not then be found in any part of India. His plundering raids into the enemy's country were not unique in those days and no international obligations put a moral ban on such practices of warfare, which were

adopted by all the enemies of Shivaji. Aurangzeb's despatches to his army officers in Ahmednagar district, who were fighting with Shivaji's men, breathe more of cruelty and vengeance than Shivaji ever showed. Mirza Raja Jeysing in his despatches to the Emperor clearly speaks of the booty to be gained by the imperial fleet suddenly descending on maritime possessions of Shivaji.

On 10th February, Jeysing arrived at Aurangabad, where Prince Muazzim was holding court as viceroy of the Deccan. In three days Jeysing finished the work of waiting on the prince, receiving and returning the visits of the local officers and the nobles and settling some points connected with the expedition. Leaving Aurangabad, he arrived at Poona on 3rd March and took over charge from Maharaja Jeswantsing.

Long before his arrival at Poona, Jeysing had arranged to combine against Shivaji all his enemies and distract his attention by attacks from all possible quarters. As early as January he had sent two Europeans to the western coast with letters to the chiefs of the European settlements, inviting them to help the imperialists by obstructing Shivaji, who had collected a fleet of his own. Agents had been sent to all chiefs in Karnatic to help the Moghals by threatening Shivaji and Bijapur from the south. The Raja of Jawhar in Kolwan was called upon to co-operate and an envoy from him had met Jeysing at Burhanpur with a proposal to join the Moghal side. Every one from Maharashtra, who had a grudge against

Shivaji, was called upon to join the Moghals. Two Mores and one Mankoji Dhangar joined Jeysing at Poona, while Fazl Khan solicited a command and an opportunity of vengeance on Shivaji. Similarly Jeysing played skilfully upon the hopes and fears of the Sultan of Bijapur, holding forth the chance of reduction of tribute and removal of the Emperor's displeasure, if he aided the Moghals against Shivaji.³

After arriving at Poona, Jeysing spent some days in settling the country, "establishing outposts at suitable places." Outbuddin Khan was sent with 7000 cavalry with orders to guard the country from Junnar in the north to the foot of the hills opposite Lohgad and to set up a permanent outpost facing Lohgad. Between Poona and Lohgad, a distance of 28 miles is a difficult pass, where a guard of 2000 cavalry was posted. Poona and its surroundings were guarded by a body of 4000 cavalry. The thana of Supa in the east was also well guarded and a strong body of 3000 horse was posted at Shirwal in the Nira valley, to prevent aid from reaching Purandhar from the south.

Purandhar was thus hemmed in by Moghal detachments on all sides except in the south-west where it is connected with Singhgad and Raigad. Deciding to capture this fort of Purandhar, lying in the midst of the Poona district, Jeysing left Poona to take up his position at Saswad. The army moved on and crossing the pass of

3 Prof. J. Sarkar's Shivaji 125-126.

Diva appeared at Saswad in the Kura valley. A permanent camp, between Saswad and the fort, was pitched 2 miles from Saswad on 31st March. Six miles south of Saswad rises the stupendous mountain mass of Purandhar. It is really a double fort, with an independent and very strong sister enclosure, named Vajragad on a hill running east of it. Purandhar consists of an upper fort or citadel with precipitous sides all round and a lower fort or Machi, 300 feet or more below it. The latter is a ledge running round the waist of the hill with many a winding, the entire circuit being four miles. On the north side the ledge widens into a broad terrace, containing the barracks and offices of the garrison. This terrace is bounded on the east by the high spur named, Bhairav Khind, which starts from the base of the steep overhanging the north-eastern tower of the upper fort and runs for about a mile eastward in a narrow ridge ending in a small tableland, crowned with the fort of Rudramal or Vajragad. This Vajragad commands the Machi on its northern and the most important face.

On the 14th April, Dilir Khan stormed Vajragad and captured it. The garrison capitulated and being disarmed were sent back to return home. Dilir Khan now turned to the main fort, while Jeysing organised raids into the deep valleys of the Maratha country. A party under Daud Khan arrived near Rohida and burnt and totally ruined about 50 villages. Another party invaded four populous villages, occupied them, razed them to the ground and brought away many of the peasants and their

cattle and other property as spoils of war. Two more columns were despatched in the vicinity of Lohgad. The villages enclosed by the four forts of Lohgad, Visapur, Tikona and Tangai, were devastated and a great part of the Marvals was harried.⁴

Meanwhile, the Marathas made some efforts to harass the Moghals and raise the siege of Purandhar. Netaji Palkar made a dash on Paranda, but a Moghal detachment from Supa hastened in pursuit and Netaji fled back to his territories. Some attempts to break through the Moghal line near Lohgad were also frustrated.

After the capture of Vajragad Dilir Khan pressed the siege; advancing along the connecting ridge, he laid siege to the Machi and his trenches approached the tower in the north-eastern corner of the upper fort. The garrison made sorties to drive back the besiegers and Kiratsing, a son of Jeysing and a brave Rajput general when attacked, repulsed the Marathas with slaughter. Almost every day there was fighting and Dilir sat before Purandhar like grim death: siege was pressed hard and outworks of Purandhar were stormed and taken. Before long five towers and one stockade of the lower fort fell into the hands of the Moghal enemy. Purandhar now seemed doomed. The garrison had originally numbered only 2000 against the enemy's force of ten

⁴ Shivaji had strict orders issued to his men that no women, peasants or cattle were to be disturbed.

times that number, well armed and equipped, and they had suffered heavy casualties during two months of incessant fighting.

The commandant of the fort was Murar Baji Prabhu Mahadkar Deshpande, whose father was a captain in the contingent force of Chandra Rao More serving under Bijapur. While fighting in an engagement with the Moghals, this brave captain was marked by the Sultan and being created an Umrao, was given a commission in the royal army; and his son succeeded him as captain in the More's army. Murar Baji had gallantly fought against Shivaji in the battle of Javli, but after the complete defeat of Chandra Rao Shivaji accepted him as his servant and fully aware of his high military repute made him commandant of the fort of Purandhar.⁵

The Maratha garrison bravely resisted the Moghal attacks, but their gallant commandant suffered death like a true national hero, and the incident is well described by the Maratha historian Sabhasad,⁶ "Murar Baji selected 700 men, made a sortie on the slopes of Purandhar and attacked Dilir Khan's division. Dilir ordered his men to close the siege and fall upon the Marathas on all sides. A furious struggle followed; Murar Baji and his Mavales did their utmost and fought bravely. Five hundred Pathans were sabred, when Murar at the head of only 60 veterans advanced to the post where Dilir was standing.

⁵ Sardesai's history of the Marathas 171.

Dilir, being forced back, ordered guns* to be fired and arrows to be discharged against those brave 60 Marathas, who now being surrounded by the enemy were cut off by the Moghal swords. Murar Baji with his shield and sword rushed on and furiously attacked Dilir. Dilir Khan, astonished by the valour shown by the Maratha commandant, exclaimed,—“Accept an assuring word of safety (*qaul*), you are a brave warrior and I praise you.” But the brave Murar Baji cried aloud that he was a Shivaji’s man and would not accept *qaul* from the enemy, and instantly fell upon Dilir with his sword. •Dilir promptly twisting his body avoided the stroke and, quickly discharging an arrow, killed him on the spot.”

The information of the death of Murar Baji and the miserable condition of the garrison soon reached Shivaji, who was now thrown into utmost despair. Already the Sultan of Bijapur at the instigation of Aurangzeb had broken the peace and sent Khawas Khan with a large army to attack the Marathas. A bloody battle followed and the Marathas were completely routed.⁷ On account of this double pressure, Shivaji being overcome with anxiety sent Raghunath Panditrao to Mirza Raja saying that he would soon arrive in the Rajput’s camp. Raghunath saw Mirza Raja and receiving assurances of safety from him returned to his master at Raigad. Shivaji trusting the word of a Rajput resolved to see Jeysing in his camp, and, saluting God Shambhu and his family goddess Bhavani and his mother Jeejabai, started on his

mission to the Moghal camp near Purandhar. On his arrival near the camp, Raghunathpant proceeding onward to Jeysing announced the arrival of Shivaji, when Jeysing came on foot as far as the door of his tent and there received Shivaji. Both entered the pavillion at the same time and sat on the same seat. Formalities of reception were gone through and after Jeysing assured Shivaji that he treated him as his son Ramsing, Shivaji said,—“ I shall hand over as many forts to you as you wish, Purandhar will be submitted and on its battlements your flag shall fly.” The ambition of Mirza Raja Jeysing was fully satisfied, the powerful Raja of the Marathas was on his feet and he was now in a position to dictate his own terms of peace. Shivaji being humbled, Jeysing could well now think of the reduction of Bijapur and Golconda. He expected that he would soon achieve the greatest honour in the Moghal service and would occupy the whole Decan with the aid of the Marathas, whose chief Shivaji was now almost a vassal of the empire. He allowed Shivaji to stay in his tent as his guest ; and after long discussions as to the terms of a permanent peace, an agreement was come to, which Mirza Raja at once wrote to his master, Emperor Aurangzeb, for ratification. Shivaji, on his own part, accepted the terms of the treaty of Purandhar and gave a letter of submission to the Emperor, which, along with the despatch of Mirza Raja, was sent to the court. Aurangzeb received those letters on 23rd June, and on 26th August 1665 he wrote his *firman* to Shivaji confirming the substance of the agreement of Purandhar. The

terms of the treaty of Purandhar can be well ascertained from Aurangzeb's letter to Shivaji,⁸ which runs as under :—

“ You repent for your past deeds and that you surrender 30 forts and retain 12 only with the adjoining territory yielding in revenue one lac of pagodas. In addition to these 12 forts, which formley belonged to the Nizam Shahy government, you wish to retain another tract in Konkan with a revenue of 4 lacs of pagodas that you have taken from the Bijapur government, and another tract under Baleghat in Bijapur territory with a revenue of 5 lacs of pagodas. You want a charter from us to this effect and you agree to pay to us 40 lacs of pagodas in annual instalments of 3 lacs.

Our reply—We grant you pardon, though your conduct has been unscrupulous, and allow you to retain, as you wish, 12 forts detailed below ; the adjoining territory has also been granted. But out of the 9 lacs of territory, that part, which is in Konkan and which yields 4 lacs and is at present in your possession, has been annexed to our Empire. As for the other, with a revenue of 5 lacs, it will be given you subject to two conditions—

- (1) You must recover it from the Bijapur government, before Bijapur falls in our hands, and
- (2) You must join Jeysing with a well-equipped army and pay the stipulated ransom after the Bijapur conquest.

At present a Mansab of 5,000 horse has been offered to your son. Every horseman will have two or three horses. A dress has been sent to you."

After the submission of Shivaji and the despatch of letters to the Emperor, Mirza Raja proceeded to exact execution of the stipulated conditions and the very next day the fort of Purandhar was surrendered and the garrison was allowed to retire. On 14th June, Shivaji was presented by Jeysing with an elephant and two horses and was allowed to go to Rajgad with Kiratsing. A ceremonial visit to Dilir Khan had also previously been arranged. On his way to Rajgad, Kiratsing took possession of the fort of Kondana. From Rajgad Sambhaji was sent to Jeysing's camp in charge of Ugrasen Kachhwah. Thus in course of a few months Mirza Raja Jeysing got a complete success over Shivaji, who, being humbled, was reduced to the position of a vassal of the Empire.

CHAPTER XVII.

SHIVAJI, A VASSAL OF THE EMPIRE.

The subjugation of Shivaji and the occupation of a large tract of hilly Maharashtra with its impregnable forts, opened a path to Mirza Raja Jeysing for the conquest of Bijapur. Since the commencement of the seventeenth century, the emperors of Delhi had incessantly fought in the Deccan with the object of annexing the kingdoms of Ahmednagar, Bijapur and Golconda. The long war was commenced by Akbar and for 36 years three successive emperors strove hard, before they were able to reduce only one kingdom of Ahmednagar. Its reduction was not also complete and a part of it had to be ceded to the Sultan of Bijapur to bribe him into silence. Aurangzeb, as viceroy of the Deccan under his father completed the reduction of the Nizam Shahy territories ; but he too had to leave Shivaji in undisturbed possession of Poona and north Konkan, districts originally owned by the Ahmednagar King. The subjugation of the Deccan had been a very difficult task, it had been a grave of many a general of note. The resistance, offered by the Deccany Muhammâdâns strongly supported by their auxiliaries, the Marathas, had, while checking the progress of the Moghal conquest, brought to light the potent power of the Maratha nation, which was destined to cause ruin of the Empire. Shahaji sowed the seed of Maratha nationality and Shivaji, his son, became founder of an independent kingdom in Maharashtra.

Mirza Raja Jeysing a faithful servant of the empire, an ambitious general and crafty statesman ever trying to attain to the highest dignity in the empire, had his chance of being the conqueror of the Deccan. Shivaji being won over, the conquest of Bijapur with his aid was an easy task to Jeysing. Shah Jahan had, under similar circumstances, won over Jadhav Rao and with his aid gained his object of reducing Ahmednagar. Had Jeysing and his master Aurangzeb been less crafty, Shivaji would have continued in the Moghal service and the reduction of Bijapur would have been an easy task. But the recognition of Shivaji as the Raja of hilly Maharashtra was a necessary condition, Shivaji and the people of Maharashtra being in no way satisfied to pass under the Moghal yoke.

During the four months after the capture of Purandhar, Jeysing made preparations for an expedition into Bijapur. A sum of two lacs of rupees from the Imperial treasury was sent to Shivaji, which he was called upon to utilize in making necessary preparations to gather his contingent of 9000 men.

In spite of the aid given by Alli Adil Shah to the Moghals in their attacks against Shivaji, Aurangzeb, after the fall of Purandhar, ordered Jeysing and Dilir to invade Bijapur territory. The expedition started in the month of November; and the Maratha contingent, consisting of 2000 horse and 8000 or 9000 thousand infantry, under Shivaji and Netaji Palkar, joined the Moghal army. At the outset the expedition was an uninterrupted triumph,

and from Purandhar to Mangalvedha, a distance of 52 miles, the march of the invaders was a complete success. Bajaji Naik Nimbalkar, a relative of Shivaji and an Adil Shahy vassal opposed the invaders, but Phaltan was reduced and the fort of Tathoda was escaladed by Shivaji's Mavales. Other fortified places on the route were also captured. Aurangzeb writes in a letter to Shivaji,—“You are in the Imperial camp, you reduced the forts of Phaltan and Tathoda. You led the forces in the night attack in Konkan. In recognition of your services, a handsome dress and a pretty little jewelled sword are sent to you.”¹

Before the Moghals appeared at Mangalvedha, Ali Adil Shah had made his preparations to oppose the invaders. A strong army of 12000 men, under Khawas Khan and Shize Khan, two famous generals of Bijapur, assisted by two Maratha auxiliaries Jadu Rao of Kaliani, and Venkoji Raja brother of Shivaji, met the Moghals on 25th December at a distance of 10 miles from Mangalvedha. Dilir Khan and Shivaji marched against them; but the Deccanis evaded the charge and harassed the Moghals, dividing themselves into four bodies. The persevering energy of Dilir broke the Bijapur force in the afternoon, but as the Moghals retraced their steps to the camp, they were furiously attacked by the Deccanis. The Maratha rearguard under Netaji Palkar bore the brunt of the attack and held out till re-inforcements

arrived under Kiratsing. Among the Maratha generals in the service of Bijapur, who fought with uncommon spirit, Venkoji Raja and Ruttaji Manay of Mhaswad were most conspicuous.

After two days' halt, Jeysing resumed his march. In an engagement with a Bijapur army, Shivaji and Kiratsing, seated on the same elephant, led the van and dashed into the Deccani ranks and repulsed them. On 29th December Jeysing arrived at Nagthan, a village 8 miles from Bijapur. Here his advance was stopped. The Bijapuris had made preparations to stand siege and had devastated the country round, and the Moghals were unable to get water and provisions and fodder for their horses. Some parties of men attacked the Moghal lines and a force was sent to invade their dominions to make a diversion in Jeysings' rear. Jeysing had not brought heavy artillery and other siege materials, as he had expected to carry Bijapur by a coup de main, meanwhile Fath Jung Khan, who was escorting treasure from Aurangabad to Mirza Raja's camp, was attacked by a large body of the Bijapuris between Paranda and Sholapur. He made a gallant defence, but was slain in the action and the treasure and baggage fell into the hands of the Deccanis. Jeysing was now forced to retreat and soon retired into the Moghal dominions beyond the Bhima.

Being repulsed from before Bijapur, Jeysing wanted to create a diversion. Shivaji offered himself to under-

take the task of reducing Panhala for the Emperor. "I shall raise so much disturbance in that district that the enemy will be compelled to divert a large force from their army to oppose me". These are the words of Shivaji as quoted by Jeysing in his despatch to the Emperor. But from his secret correspondence, it seems that Shivaji was sent away to safeguard his liberty, as Dilir Khan and others opposed to Jeysing attributed the failure of the campaign to Shivaji's treachery.

Shivaji now advanced on Panhala and delivered an assault on it three hours before sunrise. But the garrison were on the alert and offered a stubborn defence. Many of Shivaji's warriors fell down, killed or wounded. In the morning, observing that it was madness to continue the struggle, he drew back and retired to his own fort of Vishalgad, where he received another letter of Aurangzeb in which the Moghal Emperor expressed his regard for Shivaji. An attempt to capture the Adil Shahy fort of Phonda was then made by Shivaji, but through the bravery of Rustam Zaman Phonda was saved.

It was about this time that Netaji Palkar, taking offence with Shivaji for some reason or other, deserted to Adil Shah and raided the Moghal territory with great vigour and effect. He was afterwards won over by Jeysing by a grant of a 5 Hazari Mansab and a rich present. Shivaji's defeat and Netaji's defection greatly alarmed Jeysing. If Shivaji were to follow his general and desert to the Adil Shahy Sultan, the entire Maratha

army would swell the ranks of Bijapur and the Moghal invaders would be crushed between the two. It was to avoid this contingency that Jeysing, the crafty and veteran statesman of Delhi, proposed to the Emperor "to win Shivaji's heart by all means and to send him to northern India".²

By "thousand devices" Shivaji was persuaded by Jeysing to go to Agra in the presence of the Emperor. Jeysing's despatches to the Emperor and his secret correspondence as quoted above set forth a clear contrast to the simplicity observed by the Marathas, as is seen in the writings of Sabhasad. "An agreement was arrived at and it was agreed that both Shivaji and Jeysing should go to Delhi. Mirza Raja expressed his fears that the treacherous and tricky Emperor would ruin both if they went together. He therefore intended to stay at Aurangabad, while Shivaji should go alone to Delhi. He promised to write letters to his son Ramsing, who, being a powerful and influential man at the court, would look to Shivaji's security."

Before Shivaji left for the north, he made proper arrangements for good government in his absence. All his possessions were left in charge of his mother as Regent and she was to be assisted by Moropant Peshwa, Nilopant Majamudar and Annaji Datto. Raghunathpant Korde was sent ahead to Aurangzeb to announce Shivaji's arrival at the court.

Accompanied by his son and a body of 1000 infantry and a squadron of 3000 cavalry, Shivaji set out on his journey to Agra. Besides there were seven of his courtiers, including Hiroji Farzand, who followed him to the Moghal court. Aurangzeb, on hearing of Shivaji's departure, issued orders to his provincial officers that wherever Shivaji would arrive, he should be received properly and be treated as Shahzada, Prince of the royal blood; the Foujdars should advance to receive him and all provisions etc., should be supplied to him.

On the arrival of Shivaji at the court, he was stationed in a separate mansion by the Emperor and on a suitable day was allowed to be in the imperial presence, when Aurangzeb sat on his throne in his Durbar. Shivaji with his son and Ramsing was ushered in by the officers of the court, when the Maratha Raja made three salaams to the Emperor and was asked to stand below Jeswantsing. This was resented by Shivaji and he uttered some words complaining the treatment. Ramsing silenced him, but Aurangzeb observed the displeasure of his guest. The Durbar was over and Shivaji was allowed to retire to his mansion.

On the next day Raghunathpant, on behalf of his master, wrote a petition to the Emperor, in which Shivaji expressed that his object in going to the imperial presence was only to serve His Majesty and no other motive prompted him to undertake the long journey with his son. "I shall serve the Emperor and shall conquer the Adil Shaby and Kootb Shaby kingdoms for the

Emperor. Other Soobhedars or viceroys, that have been sent to the Deccan, have failed to conquer these kingdoms and I now undertake this task and hope to do it successfully." On receipt of this petition, the Emperor wrote only to wait and see. On the next day Shivaji paid a visit to Jafar Khan, the Vazier, who received him kindly; but his wife, sister of Shaista Khan, sent word to cut short the interview with Shivaji.

Soon after Polad Khan, the Kotwal of the city, with a body of 500 horse, was posted to keep watch on Shivaji's camp. He was now frightened for the safety of himself and his son. He felt sad and lamented long clasping Sambhaji to his breast.

Shivaji now devised a plan to escape from the imperial city, where he was practically kept in confinement. He procured huge baskets of bamboo and, filling them with sweetmeats, used to send them daily to the nobles of the court and Fakirs and other holy men of the city. Each basket was slung on a pole and was carried by two men out of his mansion. He then dismissed most of his followers and asked them to go to the Deccan. One day while the baskets were being taken out, he sat in one of them with his son and effected his escape without being noticed by the vigilant guard. On his arrival at a place 4 miles from the city, he came out of the basket and riding horses that were kept ready for the purpose by Niraji Raoji, his chief justice, he set off in full gallop and was soon beyond the reach of his enemy.

Hiroji Farzand, who was being served by a smart boy, remained in Shivaji's bed for a long time. The guards made inquiries, when the boy answered that Shivaji was ill and would not get up. In the last quarter of the day Hiroji and the boy slipped out unnoticed and were off on their way to meet their master. Meanwhile Shivaji with his son and three officers, Niraji Raoji, Datto Trimbak and Ragho Mitra, smeared themselves with ashes like Hindu ascetics and hastened towards Mathura; while others took their own way homewards.

Arrived at Mathura, he found that his son Sambhaji was worn out with fatigue and was unable to proceed to the Deccan in hot haste. Three Maratha Brahmins, Krishnaji, Kashi and Visaji, brothers-in-law of Moropant Peshwa, were then living in this holy city. Niraji knew them and confided to them the story of Shivaji's escape and his present plight. They nobly responded to the appeal in the name of their country, and, braving all risks of imperial vengeance in the event of detection, they agreed to keep Sambhaji, till Shivaji should reach home and write for him. One of the brothers, Krishnaji, even undertook to guide the fugitives as far as Benares.

Shivaji threw his pursuers off the scent by following route exactly opposite to that which leads to Maharashtra, and passing through Orissa and Telingana, he entered Maharashtra from the east and returned safely to Rajgad in December 1666 after an absence of 9 months. At Mathura, he shaved his beard to disguise himself, and

travelled as a pilgrim, from there by the route of Allahabad and Benares to Gaya; from whence, after meeting two officers whom he had sent on before, he travelled to Cuttak. Here being much fatigued he ventured to buy a horse, but not having silver ready to pay for it, unguardedly opened a purse of gold. The news of his escape having reached this city, the owner of the horse, who was suspicious at seeing a person in the dress of a beggar with so much money, said, "Surely, you must be Shivaji in disguise as you offer such a sum for a horse." Shivaji made no reply, but gave him the purse, and departed with all possible speed to Jagannath; from whence, after performing the customary worship, he travelled from Hyderabad to his own country.³

Jeysing had sent Shivaji to northern India by a thousand devices in order to get him out of the Deccan, when the military situation turned against the Moghals. Shivaji's services in the reduction of Bijapur were required by Jeysing, but that tried Rajput servant of the Emperor was unwilling to make an alliance with Shivaji on equal footing. Shivaji would have been accepted as a vassal of the Empire, but even an independent charge of the viceroyalty of the Deccan with a commission to reduce Bijapur and Golconda, which, as the Maratha historians suppose, was the object of the Moghal overtures to Shivaji, was also beyond possibility to his calculating mind. Shivaji or no Shivaji, the task of the reduction of

Bijapur was impossible to him. The •Deccani Muham-madans had made a close alliance with the Marathas and were able to defy the Emperor so long as that alliance continued. Shivaji's joining the Moghals for any length of time would only have prolonged the struggle and the reduction of Bijapur would not have been achieved without the Kingdom of Shivaji being broken into pieces. What Shivaji dreaded was the alliance between the Moghals and the Bijapuris, and after the defeat of Purandhar Shivaji submitted to save his kingdom from being dismembered by the vassals of Bijapur, whom he had displaced. Jeysing's hasty action in opening the campaign against Bijapur and its failure, due to want of proper appreciation of the resources of Bijapur, led Shivaji to think that he was the proper person to conduct the war to reduce that kingdom. Influenced by this ambition and cherished with high hopes of imperial favour by the sweet words of Jeysing, Shivaji was ensnared and prepared to present himself before the Emperor. Aurangzeb was playing a waiting game. He was prepared to honour Shivaji, but eager to see the reduction of Bijapur and to allow his Rajput commander-in-chief free scope to his military operations, he was willing to detain Shivaji at Agra and to decide, after the conclusion of the Deccan campaign, if and when he would be released.

But the flight of Shivaji from Agra caused consternation to all and rendered the position of Jeysing infinitely worse. He had been disgraced in the eyes of

the Emperor by the failure of his invasion of Bijapur. But now his son Ramsing was openly suspected of having connived at Shivaji's flight. Ramsing was punished, first by being forbidden the court and then being deprived of his rank and pay. The anticipated return of Shivaji into the Deccan greatly added to his fears. The king of Golconda, whose sympathy was roused by the glorious defence of Bijapur and encouraged by the slow progress of the Moghals, sent to the assistance of Bijapur a strong army of 6000 cavalry and 25000 infantry. Mahadaji Nimbalkar, son of Bajaji, the Adil Shahy vassal of Phaltan, began to cause disturbances in the Poona district and other Moghal places. The garrisons, left by Jeysing in the forts surrendered by Shivaji, complained of want of proper provisions. And the officers left by Shivaji in the Deccan when starting for Agra began to display ominous activities. At last in December 1666 definite news was received of Shivaji's arrival at Rajgad.

- Then we have, in a letter to the Prime minister Jafar Khan, this astounding proposal of a marriage between his daughter and Jeysing's son, and to get him murdered during his journey to the Rajput general's camp. " I have not failed, nor will I do so in future, to exert myself against Bijapur, Golconda and Shivaji in every possible way.....I am trying to manage matters in such a way that the wicked wretch Shivaji will come to see me once, and that in the course of his journey or return [our] clever men may get a favourable opportunity

(of disposing of) that reckless fellow in his unguarded moment at that place. This slave of the court, for furthering the Emperor's affairs, is prepared to go so far regardless of praise or blame by the people that, if the Emperor sanctions, I shall set on foot a proposal for a match with his family and settle the marriage of my son with his daughter—though the pedigree and caste of Shiva are notoriously low and men like me do not even eat food touched by his hand (not to speak of entering into a matrimonial connection with him); and in case this wretch's daughter is captured, I shall not condescend to keep her in my harem. As he is of low birth, he will very likely swallow the bait and be hooked. But great care should be taken to keep this plan secret. Send me quickly a reply to act accordingly.⁴

The failure of Jeysing's expedition and Ramasing's suspected connivance at Shivaji's escape led the Emperor to recall Jeysing from the Deccan. Aurangzeb soon removed him from the government of Aurangabad and appointed Prince Muazzim in his place, accompanied by Jeswantsing. In May Prince Muazzim reached Aurangabad and relieved Jeysing of the charge. The Rajput statesman set out on his homeward journey in extreme misery of mind and sense of public humiliation, and died on the way at Burhanpur on 22nd July 1667.

CHAPTER XVIII.

SHIVAJI, AN ALLY OF THE EMPIRE.

The re-appointment of Prince Muazzim as viceroy of the Deccan, accompanied by Jeswantsing, was very agreeable to Shivaji. Muazzim was, in many respects, a Prince of an excellent disposition, he was brave generous and confiding; but with the defects which some of these qualities, unrestrained, may engender, he was fond of pleasure, lavish, easily persuaded and much swayed by Jeswantsing. Aurangzeb, who, during the time Jeysing was conducting a campaign against Bijapur, played a waiting game, had to decide a definite policy as to his relations with Shivaji. From the first he had adopted a conciliatory policy and, but for Jeysing, he would have acknowledged him as a great vassal of the Empire. His object in calling Shivaji to the court was to facilitate the reduction of Bijapur by Jeysing and not to detain him to join the Imperial service. His conduct in the Durbar and the violation of court etiquette angered him a little, but his flight was a cause of bitter anxiety to him. He knew full well that Shivaji and his followers could not be vanquished in their own territory and that the Marathas had been able to defend themselves against the mighty Imperial forces during the last fifty years. He had therefore, every reason to conciliate him and now far from making an attempt to crush him, Aurangzeb was influenced by other reasons to conciliate the hero of

Maharashtra. Within a fortnight of Shivaji's escape from Agra, a large army had to be sent to the Punjab to meet the threat of a Persian invasion, and the anxiety on this point was not removed till December. But immediately afterwards in March 1667 the Yusufzai rising in the Peshawar district took place, which taxed the Imperial strength for more than a year. It was therefore, the Emperor's interest not to molest Shivaji at such a time.¹

Aurangzeb, according to the view taken by Sabhasad advised his son to adopt wise and conciliatory methods and is there represented to have said to the Prince :— "Shivaji cannot be brought under subjection by force. You should go and halt at Aurangabad and secure his friendship by conciliatory measures. If he himself does not come, let him be exempted attendance. It is better to confer upon him or his son a Jahgeer and ensure the services of his army in the Imperial cause. Shivaji must be made a servant of the Empire by giving him anything a province, Jahgeer or money. You should take this credit of reconciling Shivaji."

The Prince with his army of 60000 men arrived at Aurangabad and sent envoys to Shivaji with a message that an alliance between the Emperor and Shivaji was desired. King Shivaji was now satisfied and sent to Aurangabad his envoy, Raghunathpant Korde, with a rich dress of honour to the Prince. Raghunath successfully carried out the mission, and an alliance was formed

the terms of which were :—that a Mansab of Seven-thousand [Prof. Sarkar—Five-thousand] be granted to Sambhaji, that the Prince and Shivaji should be close friends and allies, that a Maratha army should be placed at the disposal of the Prince by Shivaji and for the maintenance of the same it was decided that districts yielding fifteen lacs of hons in Berar and Khandesh should be given to Shivaji.² The districts of Poona, Chakan and Supa were also restored to Shivaji, but the commanding forts of Purandhar and Singhgad were retained by the Moghals.³

Raghunathpant returned to Rajgad and communicated these terms to his king, who accepted them and in compliance with them sent a Maratha detachment of 5000 horse under Prataprao Gujar,⁴ who had recently been raised to the dignity of Surnobat or commander-in-chief of the horse, to be at the service of the Prince at Aurangabad. Nirajipant, a civil officer of high rank, was also sent with Prataprao to be stationed at Aurangabad near the Prince. Subhedar Raoji Somnath was despatched to take possession of the new Jahgeer in

² Sabhasad 49.

³ Grant Duff Vol I 221.

⁴ Netaji Palkar, the predecessor of Prataprao Gujar, was, according to Kafee Khan, made prisoner by Jeysing and sent to Delhi, by the Emperor's orders. There he became a Muhammadan, obtained a mansab and the title of Mohmad Koollee but afterwards returned to Shivaji. This is what Grant Duff writes of him. Prof. Sarkar [Page 182] says that he was sent to Afghanistan, and Shivaji also would have been sent thither but for his escape from Agra. After 10 years or so, Netaji returned to the Deccan and was well received by Shivaji, when he was going out on his Karnatic expedition.

Berar. On arrival of this Maratha force and the auxiliary civil officers, all the stipulations of the treaty were faithfully carried out by the prince, and separate quarters were assigned to the Marathas.⁵ For two years the Maratha force faithfully served the Imperial cause and with its aid disturbances in the Imperial territories were put down. These friendly relations with the Moghals were not broken till early in the year 1670.

About this time, a favourite eunuch belonging to Alli Adil Shah, being disgusted at his sovereign, came over to the prince at Aurangabad. Adil Shah wrote repeated requests that he should be sent back, agreeing in case of compliance to give up the fort of Sholapur and to make a valuable offering. The prince sending intelligence of this to the court, Aurangzeb ordered that Geeasuddin Khan should go to Bijapur to determine and collect the offering, and Earuch Khan be appointed to the government of Sholapur; after which the eunuch should be sent back. This was accordingly done.⁶ According to the account given by Grant Duff, [Vol. I 222] a treaty was concluded at Agra betwixt Aurangzeb and Alli Adil Shah; the terms on the part of the Bijapur court were negotiated by Shah Abdool Hoosein, who gave up as the price of peace the fort of Sholapur and territory yielding 1,80,000 hons of annual revenue. In consequence of this treaty, Shivaji, lest the Moghals should interfere, had an interview with the Prince and Jeswantsing in order to have

5 Sabhasad 49-50.

6. Scott's Deccan Vol. II 22.

his interests safeguarded and to reensure his position as an independent King. Meanwhile at Bijapur a factious nobility and a wasteful court had deprived the minister of means to assert the dignity of the kingdom and to resist Shivaji's encroachments on the Adil Shahy territories. He, therefore, purchased security by agreeing to pay Shivaji an annual sum of three lacs of hors. The state of Golconda was also equally weakened and Shivaji obliged the Kootb Shahy King to pay a tribute of four lacs of hors.⁷ Kincaid [Page 224] writes that the Sultan of Bijapur "had to satisfy the claims of Shivaji to Sardeshmukhi and chouth, which had been granted to him by Aurangzeb in the first treaty. Alli commuted them for payment of $3\frac{1}{2}$ lacs of rupees." Grant Duff makes a similar remark and writes that "Shivaji was about to levy his chouth and Sardeshmukhi from Alli Adil Shah, but the minister purchased exemption by agreeing to pay him an annual sum of three lacs of rupees." It is, however, to be considered that there is no reference to Shivaji's claims to chouth and Sardeshmukhi in the treaty referred to above, in which Aurangzeb only promised a territory yielding 5 lacs to be given to Shivaji on condition that he should conquer it from Bijapur. Scott also simply writes that the minister purchased security by an annual payment of 3 lacs of hors.

During these years of peace, Shivaji in October 1668 made an unsuccessful attempt to conquer the territory of

Goa by stratagem. He smuggled into the Portuguese towns 400 to 500 of his soldiers in small parties, at different times and under various disguises, hoping that when their number was sufficiently large he would easily land a force at a suitable place on the Portuguese coast, before they could raise a sufficiently large army for defence. But either the plot leaked out, or the Portuguese viceroy's suspicions were roused. He made a narrow search in all his towns, arrested the 400 or 500 men of Shivaji at various places. He then sent for Shivaji's ambassador and turned him and the Maratha prisoners out of his territory. Shivaji had assembled an army of 1000 foot and 1000 horse, threatening to lead them against the Portuguese in person. From the north of Rajapur he marched to Vengurla, inspected all his forts in that quarter putting in fresh provisions and ammunition. But in December he returned to Raigad as he found the Portuguese well prepared for the defence of their territories.⁸

In the next year another attempt was made to capture Janjira. In the earlier month of the year, the hostile armies made almost daily inroads into each other's territories and the constant warfare closed the roads to all peaceful traffic. At the close of the year the chief of Janjira was hard pressed and he solicited assistance from the English at Bombay. However he made a resolve to hold out to the last and then deliver it up to the Moghals.

But the utmost efforts of Shivaji were in vain exerted to possess himself of the impregnable fortress of Janjira.⁹

With the exception of these two attempts, Shivaji employed this interval of peace in revising and completing the internal arrangement of his government. He had already, under the guidance of his wise and able ministers, framed a set of very wise regulations, which laid the foundation of his government broad and deep and have remained an object of admiration to after ages. But now at this time particularly he devoted his long leisure to superintend and reorganise all the departments of his government and place them in charge of proper ministers. A free independent sovereign state had been carved out by him and his genius was now employed in working out a constitution fit for the people of Maharashtra and their peculiar institutions.

CHAPTER XIX.

WAR WITH THE MOGHALS.

Peace between Aurangzeb and the Marathas was a short truce. The ambition of Aurangzeb to push Imperial possessions further south would not allow him to rest satisfied and he was ready to commence hostilities in the Deccan, soon after he was freed from his wars on the N. W. frontier. It was, indeed, well known that a close friendship had arisen between Jeswantsing and Shivaji and that Prince Muazzim was in the habit of receiving large sums of money and presents from Shivaji. Aurangzeb, ever suspicious of his sons, looked upon Muazzim's friendship with Shivaji as a possible menace to his throne ; and he ordered the Moghal army in the Deccan to be greatly reduced. The disbanded soldiers took service with Shivaji who thereby gained in strength. Aurangzeb, ever suspicious of others' designs and desirous probably of dissolving the connection between his son and Jaswant Sing and the King of the Marathas, wrote letters to his son warning him not to trust the Marathas and Shivaji their King. Orders were despatched to apprehend Prataprao, the general of the Maratha auxiliary force, and Nirajipant, the Maratha agent at Aurangabad. The Shahzada received intelligence of the despatch of these letters a week before they actually came. The Prince secretly called Nirajipant to his presence and asked him to remove all the Marathas from the Moghal

territory. Nirajipant informed Prataprao and all left Aurangabad and retired into their own country. After receipt of the Imperial letters, the Prince wrote to his father that the Marathas, treacherous as they were, had run away only a week before. At the same time Aurangzeb attached the districts in Berar given to Shivaji in order to recover the lac of rupees advanced to him for his journey to the court. The cause of this rupture of friendly relations between the Moghals and Shivaji is thus given by Scott.¹ Suffeh Khan, Bakshi or paymaster of the Deccan, laid before His Majesty a list of Mansabdars created by the Ameer-ul-oomra, the Maharaj and Mirza Raja Jeysing. Many were displaced, but some deigned to accept of inferior ranks and others were restored at the request of the Prince. The rest went over to the service of Shivaji, who gladly received them. When intelligence of this desertion reached Aurangzeb and it appeared that Suffeh Khan had much oppressed the Mansabdars of the Deccan, among whom were some faithful servants of the throne, he was much displeased and this nobleman was ordered to his presence. He had also confiscated the receipts of some parts of Shivaji's new Jahgeer in Berar, as a payment of the lac of rupees Shivaji had received from the treasury on his going to court. This circumstance being known to Shivaji, who had now conquered much of the Bijapur territory and amply supplied all his forts with provisions,

he recalled Pratapsing from Aurangabad, who left it immediately.

The rupture occurred in January 1670 or a month earlier. Aurangzeb soon set to strengthening his forces in the Deccan. An order was sent to Dilir Khan to leave Deogad in the Gond country and hasten to Aurangabad. Daud Khan, Foujdar of Khandesh, was ordered to arrange for the defence of his province and then go to prince Muazzim's assistance. Many other officers were transferred from North India to the Deccan, and vigorous measures were taken to crush the rising power of the Marathas.

Shivaji was not a mean foe and was able to defy all the resources of the mighty Empire. Without giving the imperialists an opportunity to push into his native hills, he opened his offensive with great vigour and energy. His first object was to get possession of the important fortresses of Kondana and Purandhar, which obstructed his free communication with Poona and Chakan. He issued orders to Moropant Peshwa, Nilopant Majamudar and Annajipant Soornis to recover possession of all the forts in north Konkan and even beyond the Bhima. The fort of Kondana was strongly garrisoned by Rajputs and its commandant, Udaibhan, was a very celebrated soldier and had a choice body of Rajputs serving under him. Tanaji Malusra, a brave Mavale Hazari officer, offered his services for the recovery of the fort. At the head of a body of 500 select Mavales, he set out from Rajgad and soon appeared before the fort.

Kondana or Singhgad, is situated on the eastern side of the Sahyadri range, near the point at which the Purandhar hills branch off to the east. With these hills it only communicates on the east by a very high narrow ridge, while on the south and the north it presents a huge rugged mountain with an ascent of half a mile, in many parts nearly perpendicular. At this height there is an immense craggy precipice of black rock upwards of forty feet high, and surrounding the whole there is a stone wall with towers. The fort is of a triangular shape, its interior upwards of two miles in circumference; and the exterior presents on all sides the stupendous barrier already mentioned; so that except by the gates entrance is impossible. From the summit, when the atmosphere is clear, is seen to the east the narrow and beautiful valley of the Nira; to the north a great plain in the forefront of which at a distance of fifteen miles, Poona is a conspicuous object; to the south and west appear boundless masses of rolling mountains, lost in blue clouds or mingled by distance with the sky.

On the arrival at the foot of the fort, Tanaji selected two daring soldiers and made them mount the rock and a few others followed like monkeys jumping from tree to tree. They made fast a ladder of ropes, by which 300 Mavale soldiers including Tanaji went up the wall. Udaibhan, the Rajput commandant of the fort, detected the approach of the enemy on the fort and giving alarm ordered a muster of 1,200 brave Rajputs to defend the fort. Lights and torches were kindled and the Rajputs

were ready to fight with the brave Maratha band. The Mavales shouted the war cry of "Har Har Mahadeo" and fell with headlong fury on the defenders of the fort. A deadly struggle lasted for three hours, five hundred Rajputs lay dead on the field and forty to fifty Mavales were killed. Tanaji, the Maratha captain, and Udaibhan, the Rajput Killedar met in a single combat ; with a drawn sword in one hand and a shield in the other, each dealt deadly blows on the other, till at last both fell simultaneously. Sooryaji, on the death of his brother Tanaji, collected the Mavales and made a second attack on the Rajputs, who now either fell under the swords of the Marathas or leaped, with a vain hope of safety, over the walls far below into the abyss of death. All the Rajputs were slain and the fort was occupied by Shivaji's men. The victors set a small barrack on fire and gave signal of victory to Shivaji at Rajgad nine miles off. The next day Shivaji knew the details of the struggle and death of Tanaji. He mourned the loss of his brave captain and expressed, in allusion to the name he had given to the fort, "the fort is taken but the lion is slain." Sooryaji, his brother, was made commandant of the fort and rich rewards were given to those who won the fort so gloriously.

One month after the capture of Singhgad, Purandhar was escaladed with the assistance of Sooryaji and his Mavales, when its Muhammadan Killedar being captured, the fort fell with little resistance. The fort of Mahuli in north Konkan was not so easily captured as Purandhar.

Its commandant was a gallant and able Rajput named Manohar Das Gaur, nephew of Raja Bithal Das of Shah Jahan's time. Moropant, who was entrusted with the task of reducing it, invested the fort and attempted a surprise at night. He sent up 500 of his men to the ramparts by means of rope-ladders; but Manohar Das, who used to be on the alert day and night, fell on the party, slew most of them and hurled the rest down the precipice. Meanwhile the fort of Karnala was taken and the district of Kalyan-Bhiwandi was recovered and the Moghal out-post of the thana of Kalyan was driven out. Mahuli was again attacked. Manohar Das, conscious of the inadequacy of the garrison and provisions of the fort and being hopeless of getting any relief from Junnar, resigned his post. The new Muhammadan commandant being unable to hold out, the fort was occupied by the Marathas. Lohgad was also surprised and taken. The Maratha historian proudly asserts that during a short period of four months all the forts ceded to the Moghals were recovered and the Maratha flag was unfurled on the battlements of those towers of Maharashtra.

The vigorous campaign of Shivaji has been duly praised by the English factors at Surat, who in March write—"Shivaji marches now, not as before as a thief, but in gross with an army of 30,000 men conquering as he goes, and is not disturbed though the prince lies near him".²

After occupying all the districts and forts originally in his possession previous to the victory of Jeysing, Shivaji before the close of the campaign invaded the Moghal districts of Ahmednagar, Parner and Junnar. Some of the Moghal thanas were held by Shivaji's men, but on the arrival of Daud Khan, Foujdar of Khandesh, they evacuated those places and retired before him. Daud Khan was a gallant soldier and before him the Marathas had to retire into their territories to the south of the Bhima. Towards the close of the campaign Shivaji tried to surprise and capture the fort of Shivneri. But in this enterprise his good fortune deserted him. When the leader of the storming party reached the summit of the fort, he was seen by one of the wives of the garrison. She flung a stone at him, which knocked him backwards down over the precipice. As he fell he overturned those who followed him. The noise of their fall roused the garrison, who cut the ropes to which the storming party clung and thus repulsed the attack with heavy loss.

After this failure Shivaji once more turned to Janjira. Since the expedition of Basnur and the Karwar coast in February 1665, Shivaji did not have sufficient long leisure to personally look to the affairs of his possessions on the coast. However his navy was daily getting stronger and his ports on the coast enjoyed complete immunity of foreign attacks. Of the two powers on the coast, the Portuguese and the Siddis, the latter were inimical to him and had always opened a

campaign against Maratha ports on the breaking out of hostilities by the Moghals or the Bijapuris. Every year the Marathas tried to take by assault the fort of Janjira and every time they failed to capture it. The attempt of 1669 was more serious, but even then the Siddi was able to hold out in his island fortress. But Shivaji made grand preparations for the capture of Janjira. Vigorous attacks were made and all the bridge-heads were captured, which Fath Khan had established on the mainland. Shivaji's fleet too was more than a match for Fath Khan's ships, and attacked by land and sea he despaired of a successful defence. He, therefore, opened negotiations with Shivaji, offering to surrender Janjira provided he and his garrison were allowed to go free. Shivaji wished at any cost to secure the powerful naval base and he readily agreed to Fath Khan's terms. But the latter's design was frustrated on the very point of execution. The governors of the island, when it was under the Kings of Ahmednagar, were kinsmen and friends of Mallik Ambar. Upon its transfer to Bijapur, the Siddis became subordinate to the Bijapuri governor, Fath Khan. The Siddi admirals were alarmed at the surrender proposed by their Afghan Master, Fath Khan, to Shivaji and were determined to prevent such a measure at all hazards. They resolved both to save Janjira and rid themselves of their Bijapuri superior. Their three leaders, Siddi Sambal, Siddi Yakut and Siddi Khairyat, suddenly seized Fath Khan and put him in chains. They sent a despatch explaining to the Bijapur King their conduct. At the same time they sent another despatch to Aurangabad

offering in return for aid from the Moghal fleet to hold Janjira as a dependency of Delhi. The Moghals gladly consented and the Surat fleet relieved Janjira by joining the Siddi fleet, which then recovered the command of the sea.³

Shivaji resolved to make Surat pay for the aid given to Janjira by the Moghal fleet that had sailed from the Tapi. Even before the close of the monsoon in September Shivaji began to show his activities in the Kalyan District to commence his operations in the Moghal territories. The English factors at Surat rightly concluded that an attack on Surat was intended and in the course of September, they foreseeing the ensuing danger removed all their valuables to Swally. On 2nd October reports reached the city that Shivaji had approached the city and was then within twenty miles from Surat. Sabhasad describes this expedition with further details. "A large army consisting of 10,000 Paga horse and 1,000 Shiledars besides a division of infantry of 5,000 to 7,000 Mavales, was made ready [at Kalyan]. Moropant Peshwa and other civil officers accompanied the expeditionary force, and among military generals Makaji Anandrao, a natural son of Shahaji, and Venkoji Datto, who were two most powerful generals under Shahaji and who, having come from Karnatick, were made 5-Hazaris by Shivaji, served under Prataprao Gujar who led the expedition. Passing through Kolwan or the Koli country the Marathas appeared before Surat. The guards and the people of

the city being not ready to defend the place, Shivaji's horse entered the city and appeared in the Peth or the busy quarter. A Moghal army advanced to oppose them but being defeated they withdrew and Shivaji's men took possession of the houses of the rich merchants and for two days plundered the city. Jewels, gold, silver and precious stones were secured and numerous horses were captured. Shivaji now returned with the loot. The Moghal Subhedar, prince Muazzim, ordered Daud Khan, Fouzdar of Khandesh, to oppose the Marathas, when Daud pursued Shivaji and came upon him near Vani-Dindori. Shivaji had already sent forward his heavy baggage and was at the head of 10,000 light horse. He posted three of his generals Prataprao, Anandrao and Venkoji Datto, in the front and himself guarded the rear with his trusted veterans. The battle waged for six hours. The Marathas made a brave stand and won the field. Three thousand Moghals fell and three to four thousand horses were captured. From Vani Shivaji resumed his southward march, but again he was opposed by the Raibageen, wife of Udaram, the Maratha Killedar of Mahoor and a Moghal Jahgirdar. She too was defeated and being given an assurance of safety as to a daughter, she was allowed to depart unmolested."4

It was Daud Khan only who fought with Shivaji ; and prince Muazzim hearing of his expedition to Surat,

issued orders to him to intercept Shivaji who was returning by the Kanchan-Manchan pass, north of Nasik in the Chandor range. The day after the fight, described by Sabhasad as that of Vani-Dindori, Daud Khan marched with the broken remnant of his army to Nasik and halted there for one month, evidently to recoup his strength and also to watch the route from Konkan. The wounded were sent to Aurangabad and late in November he removed to Ahmednagar.

A strong fleet was also made ready to operate against Surat. In November Shivaji collected, at Nandgaon 10 miles north of Janjira, 160 small vessels, with a body of 3,000 soldiers and a great number of pioneers, ready to embark and depart with the fleet at a moment's notice. An army of 10,000 horse and 20,000 foot, with full provisions for a siege, a large number of mining tools and victuals of 40 days, was also kept ready to make a covering move by the land. His design was to march again to Surat by land, where the fleet was to join him and then the fort would be delivered to him on 29th November, as had been secretly agreed upon by its commandant. The fleet left Nandgaon on 24th November and passed northwards skirting the Bombay island the next day and Mahim on the 26th. The army under Shivaji marched in the same direction by land; but on the 26th he suddenly turned back and recalled his fleet. He had discovered that the seemingly treacherous promise of the Killedar of Surat to sell the fort to him was only a trap laid for him. Quickly changing his plan,

he ordered his Maratha force to march eastward into Baglana and Berar. Meanwhile the admiral of the Maratha fleet, which after having advanced near Surat was returning to Konkan attacked and captured near Daman a large ship belonging to the Portuguese. The Portuguese retaliated by capturing twelve of his ships, and leaving the prizes at Bass in went in pursuit of the Maratha fleet, which however fled to Dabhol in safety.⁵

Yakut Khan, now the Imperial admiral being strongly supported by the Moghal governor of Surat busied himself in increasing his fleet and war materials and strengthening the defences of Janjira. He repeatedly "seized the Maratha ships, cut off the heads of many Marathas and sent them to Surat." His crowning achievement was the recovery of Dunda Rajapuri from Shivaji's men. This fortress, which Shivaji had conquered from Fath Khan, was of the utmost value to the garrison of Janjira. With it as a bridgehead, the garrison of Janjira could command a large stretch of territory. One night in March 1671, Siddi Yakut sent Siddi Khairyat, his second in command, to attack Dunda Rajapuri from the land side; while he himself led a force in boats to attack it from the sea. The Maratha commandant was Ragho Ballal Atre. He was an efficient soldier, but allowed his vigilance to relax in the celebration of the Holi or the Spring festival. Surprised by Khairyat's party he summoned the whole garrison to repel it.

5 Prof. J. Sarkar 343-344.

Yakut in the meantime swiftly climbed the unprotected western wall of the fortress. The garrison taken between two fires were overpowered and mercilessly massacred. Just when the western wall was being scaled by the Siddis, the powder magazine exploded, killing the killedar Ragho Ballal, and several of his brave men. It is said that during the night of the surprise, at the moment when the powder magazine blew up, Shivaji, who was forty miles away, started from his sleep and exclaimed that some calamity must have befallen Dunda Rajapuri. Following up this success Yakut attacked six or seven minor forts in the neighbourhood. All but one succumbed to his first assault. One held out for a few days in hope of succour. At last greatly distressed and tempted by Yakut's oaths that he would spare the garrison, the commandant surrendered. Yakut then did what Shivaji would never have done. He broke his word and inhumanly put to death every male in the place, whether armed or not. Forcibly converting the young women and the children to Islam, he reduced them to slavery.⁶

Yakut continued the campaign in the Janjira region, while the Moghal fleet attacked and plundered the coast towns of the Marathas. But the Marathas, their main force being now engaged in the north, stood on the defensive round Janjira and Moropant, ceaselessly fighting with the Moghal divisions, gained splendid successes in Baglana and occupied the whole of that hilly tract with

its numerous forts.* After the battle of Vani-Dindori the Maratha activities in Baglana and in the Chandor range assumed a formidable character. Moropant Peshwa took the field in person and attacked several forts including Mulher, the seat of the Foujdar of Baglana. In January 1671 Bundha and Putta were taken by the Mavale infantry, the fort of Salber was hard-pressed, when Daud Khan, leaving his campaign in the surrounding of the Ahmednagar district, advanced to its relief, but being late he could not save it. Meanwhile an expedition in the Moghal territories in the east in Berar was then commenced by the Marathas and a strong force under Prataprao Gujar crossed the border and arrived before Aurangabad, which being plundered the Maratha bands hurried on northwards to Karanja in Berar. The rich town of Karanja was plundered for three days and the Marathas were on their homeward march.⁷ The Muhammadan authorities mention that Bahadurpur, two miles from Burhanpur, was also plundered. The Moghal governor of Berar was too slow to attack the Marathas ; but Daud Khan, an active general, marched thither and encamping at Fardapur wanted to intercept the Marathas on their way back to Baglana. But Prataprao proved too active for him and before the Moghal soldier could do anything, he retired safely into Baglana. But Daud Khan also swerved to the west and entered Baglana on the heels of the Marathas.

The most memorable circumstance of this expedition was the exaction of a writing from the village authorities by Shivaji, in which they promised to pay to Shivaji or his officers one fourth of the yearly revenue due to government. Regular receipts were promised on the part of the Marathas, which should not only exempt them from pillage but ensure them protection. This, Grant Duff [I. 249] remarks, was the first imposition of Maratha Chouth on a province immediately subject to the Moghals. We believe that it is the first mention of the Maratha Chouth, being in reality a claim to one fourth of the revenue due to a government. The sums, promised to be paid by the Sultans of Bijapur and Golconda, were tributes and not sums equivalent to one fourth revenue of the state or a division of the state. The contributions which Shivaji levied from the citizens in rich towns had no connection with the state revenue; and we are told that when Shivaji left Surat, he sent a letter to the *principal merchants* of the city, in which he informed them that unless they paid him an annual tribute of 12 lacs he would return and burn the city.

The raid on Surat and the Maratha gains in Baglana reduced the prestige of the Imperial arms; and Aurangzeb was forced to pay greater attention to the affairs in the Deccan. Prince Muazzim was either too indolent or quite incapable to act vigorously against the active Marathas. His lieutenant, Maharajah Jeswantsing was suspected of being in alliance with Shivaji and was hated by some Muhammadan generals and Dilli Khan

who having left Deccan was staying with Bahadur Khan, viceroy of Guzerath. Aurangzeb felt the necessity of sending reinforcements from the north. Mohabat Khan was appointed to the supreme command in the south and Jeswantsing was recalled. Daud Khan who had shown so much activity to keep the prestige of the Empire was appointed lieutenant of Mohabat Khan.

Mohabat Khan with a new army from the north arrived in the Deccan almost at the same time when Pratapraο was leading flying columns through the Imperial districts of Berar and Khandesh. He soon joined Daud Khan in Chandor range and both pressing westward in pursuit of the Marathas laid siege to Ahiwant, a Baglana fort which Shivaji's men had recently taken. The fort was captured, but the work of reducing other forts was neglected by Mohabat Khan, who spent three months at Nasik and then retired to Parner for the monsoon. Daud was recalled to the court and Mohabat was suspected of having formed a secret understanding with Shivaji. But when it is remembered that there were 400 dancing girls of Afghanistan and the Punjab in his camp, nothing could be expected of him. Mohabat Khan spent his time in a continual round of festivity, giving no attention to public affairs or the punishment of the enemy. The army was corrupted by his luxury and indolent example. He passed his days in the company of the 400 dancing girls of Kabul and Lahore who were daily rewarded by presents and favours. It at last reached the Emperor's ears, when he was recalled to

court and Bahadur Khan was at once ordered to proceed to Maharashtra by way of Sultanpur.⁸

While the army under Mohabat Khan was leisurely passing from Nasik to the monsoon cantonment at Parner, Bahadur Khan with a large army was advancing into the Maratha country by way of Songad and Sultanpur. Dilir Khan, whose splendid achievements on the field in the Deccan and Gondwan had made an impression on the Marathas, also accompanied Bahadur as his chief lieutenant. From Songad the Moghal army entered Baglana, where the extraordinary activity shown by Dilir Khan gave sufficient employment to Moropant and his captains. On entering Baglana he proceeded to Ahiwant with his ten thousand horse. Appearing before Ravlajavla he was attacked by 12000 Mavales under Moropant and was completely defeated. His scattered forces again rallied under the fort of Kanergad, but here also Ramaji Pangera, a Hazari in the Maratha army, made with his 1000 brave Mavales a daring assault on Dilir's division. The Moghal general, assured of success on account of his overwhelming numbers, allowed Ramaji Pangera to enter deep into his lines to force him to surrender. But the valiant Maratha, being determined to achieve a brilliant success, called upon his followers to face death at the hands of the Moghals. 700 of his brave followers were ready to expose their lives, when they were on all sides surrounded by Dilir Khan's soldiers. For three hours the Marathas unceasingly continued the attack and the field

resounded with the clash of their arms, as if they were playing at *tipris*⁹ in the Shimga or spring holidays. The Marathas were in deadly grip of the Moghals, but Ramaji with his 700 invincible warriors offered a strong resistance, though each of them receiving 20 to 30 wounds was almost stripped of his turban and clothes. The deadly strife continued, Ramaji lost many of his followers, and when 1200 Pathans were cut to pieces, Dilir Khan being wonderstruck put a finger into his mouth [and ordered to stop fighting].

The Moghal army from Guzerath now laid siege to Salher, and leaving Ikhlas Khan and Rao Amarsing Chandavat to continue the siege during the monsoon months, Bahadur Khan proceeded towards Ahmednagar. He advanced to Supa, while Dilir Khan making a covering move to the west captured Chakan in December 1671, massacring all the inhabitants above the age of nine years. The advance of the Moghals into Shivaji's possessions in the district of Poona was soon checked by the Marathas and they had "to retreat with shame and loss." Meanwhile the siege of Salher was continued by Ikhlas Khan and Shivaji ordered a double attack on the Imperial army, concentrating all their efforts on Salher. Prataprao Surnobat, who was carrying terror in the Moghal territories, was ordered to

9. *Tipris* are small coloured sticks. The players, each with two *tipris* in his two hands, form a circle and move round, each player beating his *tipris* and alternately beating the *tipris* of his comrades on two sides. The play is very common in India and represents the frolic dancing of Shri Krishna and his play-mates of Mathura.

lead his men from the east and from the western hills. Moropant was directed to advance and form a junction with Prataprao's division near Salher. Accordingly both the generals met near Salher and the combined forces made a vigorous attack on the Moghals. On one side the Maratha cavalry rushed through the Moghal lines, while on the other the Mavale infantry made a determined attack on the enemy's forces composed of Moghals, Pathans and Rajputs. For the whole day a bloody conflict took place, the dust raised by the fighters darkened the sky, heaps of the dead covered the field, rivers of blood flew, thousands of the enemy rolled in the bloody mud, and elephants, horses and camels died in hundreds. And in the evening, both the Moghal generals Ikhalas Khan and Bahlol Khan being captured, the surviving Moghals ran from the field and the Marathas gained a glorious victory. Among the Maratha generals who lost their lives, none was so powerful as Sooryajirao Kakade, a 5-Hazari who was one of Shivaji's earliest captains having particularly distinguished himself at the attack on Javli and escalade of Rohida. Glorious were his exploits and on the battle field he resembled Karna, the Bharati hero of Kurukshetra. Prataprao Surnobat and Moropant Peshwa deserve the highest encomium, while ten other captains gained eternal renown for the great victory over the Moghals. The victory was a complete success and contributed greatly to the renown of the Marathas. Shivaji treated the prisoners of rank, who were sent to Raigad, with distinction and when their wounds were healed up, he dismissed them in ar

honourable manner.⁴⁰ The immediate consequence of the victory was a precipitate retreat of the Moghal army to Aurangabad.

The expulsion of the Moghals beyond the Bhima, the victory of Salher and occupation of all other forts, including Mulher in Baglana paved the path of the Marathas for further conquest in the north. The exultant Marathas with very high hopes of success now led an expedition into the Koli country lying beyond Kalyan and Mahuli. The campaign was opened under Moropant at the commencement of the monsoon. The Marathas being flushed with success led their columns under the hot sun of May in the hilly regions of Kolwan and occupied Jawhar early in June 1672. Heavy rains seemed to hinder their onward march, but the Marathas pushed on into the other Koli state of Ramnagar, now known as Dharampur. The Raja fled with his family to Chikhli and Ramnagar surrendered. After these annexations Moropant, making the Koli country his base of operations, turned the direction of his advance and marching eastward held the whole line of the Sahyadri and the fort of Trimbak. The Ghats were soon crossed, and the Marathas entered the upper Godavari valley and occupied it in the middle of July. Jadun Rao Deccani, a great-grandson of Lukhaji Jadhavrao, with 4000 men was the Moghal thanadar of Nasik-Trimbak. He was defeated and captured after losing many of his men in battle. The thanadar of Vani-Dindori was also defeated

and his possessions were occupied. These two officers being sharply reprimanded by Bahadur Khan deserted in anger to the Marathas. Now possessed of Kolwau and the upper Godavari valley, Moropant was able to consolidate the Maratha gains in Baglana. A strong barrier was thus placed in the way of the Moghals, attempting an advance from Guzerath, and a new safe base was created to carry successful raids into Guzerath in the north and Berar in the east and to batter the Moghal line of advance from northern India to the Deccan.

After the close of the monsoon in the last quarter of the eventful year, flying columns of the Marathas led expeditions into the heart of the Moghal Deccan and harassed their possessions in Berar, in Gondwan and the central district of Aurangabad. Some columns even crossed the Deccan into Golconda territories in Telingana. Bahadur Khan, hearing of this Maratha incursion, left Ahmednagar and proceeding by way of Bid into the plains of the Godavari and crossing that river about Nanded arrived at Ramgir to oppose the Marathas on their return journey to Baglana. But the Marathas quickly dividing themselves into two bodies evaded the Moghals. One division marched south into the Golconda territories and thence turning westward through the Bijapur dominions crossed the Deccan and arrived in their hills, before the Moghals could intercept their march. The other division marched to Chanda and thence up through the Wardha valley entered Berar and defeating some Moghal divisions

marched westward into Baglana. During the absence of Bahadur Khan in the north-east, another Maratha army from the Poona district crossed the Bhima and carried a successful raid to Chamargonda in Ahmednagar district. But Bahadur hastened to meet the invaders, who on his arrival returned to their homes.

To counteract the effect of these Maratha expeditions the Moghals towards the close of 1672 sent a fleet of 36 vessels to assist the Siddi of Janjira to cause a diversion by sea. This squadron caused a great damage to the Maratha possessions, burning and plundering all the sea-port towns and destroying also above 500 of Shivaji's vessels. At this time six Maratha frigates had laid up in the Bombay harbour in fear of the Moghal armada. The Moghal fleet visited Bombay after its campaign against the Marathas. At that time both Shivaji and the Emperor were eagerly courting the naval help of the English ; but the foreign traders very wisely maintained their neutrality.

The Moghal district of Ahmednagar was now almost in the grip of the Marathas. From Baglana and the upper Godavari valley it was threatened from the north, while from Chakan and Poona it was threatened from the south. Bahadur Khan knew well that the Marathas could muster strong in the Poona district and could make an effective attack on Ahmednagar. He, therefore, rallied all the Moghal forces in the vicinity of the Bhima and established at Pedgaon his permanent camp. A fort was built there

which, with the Emperor's permission, was named Bahadurgad. The establishment of the Moghal camp at Bahadurgad saved the Ahmednagar district from being occupied by the Maratahs. With all their successes in Kolwan and Baglana, they were unable to deal a blow and break the line of the Moghal defence from Shivneri eastward along the left bank of the Bhima. Lohgad in Sahyadri and Purandhar in the Purandhar range were far distant from the Moghal frontier to enable even the rapid moving Maratha infantry to cross the line of the Bhima and to return, in case of a reverse, to a safe retreat at Purandhar or Lohgad. The occupation of the fort of Shivneri would have given Shivaji a new base of operations in the Ahmednagar district. On many occasions he attempted to take possession of Shivneri, but on every occasion the Moghal garrison repulsed the Marathas. Even in the beginning of 1673 another fruitless attempt was made and the Moghals continued in possession of it. Possessed of Shivneri and Pedgaon, the Moghals were able to defy the encroachments of the Marathas. Shivneri was inaccessible from the west and Pedgaon also was beyond the reach of the Marathas except from the front. To the south-east of the Poona district along the southern bank of the Bhima lay the territories of the King of Bijapur; and it was impossible to attack the Moghals at Pedgaon through his territories. Besides the Moghal line ran eastward along the Bhima to Sholapur and Gulbarga. Again the two places, Shivneri and Pedgaon, were within easy reach of Ahmednagar, the base of all Moghal operations against the Marathas; and

Ahmednagar by its very position was not likely to fall so long the Moghals were strongly posted at Aurangabad. The conquest of Baglana and Nasik was the greatest achievement of Shivaji : in the first place it prevented any succour from Guzerath to the Moghal forces fighting in Ahmednagar district and secondly the line of the Moghal advance from Burhanpur to Aurangabad and from Auranagabad to Ahmednagar was threatened by flank attacks of the Marathas. But the Marathas were unable to take advantage of this by continuing an equally vigorous war in the course of the year 1673. They had first to adopt a defensive policy to save their maritime possession from being plundered by the Moghal fleet from Surat. The disturbances of Bijapur subsequent to the death of Alli Adil Shah II also distracted the attention of Shivaji and we now see the Maratha forces employed in the reduction of some Adil Shahy territories. Bahadur Khan, who was since the beginning of 1673 made viceroy, was also a slow and inactive general and it served the purpose of the Marathas, who now wanted to adopt a defensive policy against the Moghals.

CHAPTER XX.

CANARA AND KOPPAL.

Alli Adil Shah II died on 24th November 1672, and the long peace between Shivaji and Bijapur was disturbed. The new Sultan, Sikandar, was then in the fifth year of his age and the government passed into the hands of the four great nobles of the court. Khawas Khan acting as regent took the reins of government in his hands and the other three nobles divided the kingdom and became governors of three provinces. The charge of the western districts of Miraj, Panhala and Konkan, was taken by Abdool Karim, known to the Marathas as Bahlol Khan, while Muzafar Khan took charge of Karnatik and Canara. The Rajas of Bednur and Sonda revolted against the authority of Bijapur, but Muzafar put down the revolt and brought the Rajas under subjection; meanwhile the relations between Shivaji and Bijapur ceased to be friendly and though the regent Khawas Khan was not willing to break the alliance with Shivaji, Bahlol Khan, governor of Miraj, opened negotiations with the Moghals to crush the Maratha power. Shivaji would not give an opportunity to Bahlol Khan to attack his possessions in the south and himself rallied a force at Vishalgad.¹

Shivaji, in return for an annual payment of three lacs, had abstained from invading the territories of Alli Adil Shah ; but now that he was dead the Maratha King held himself absolved from his engagement. The Marathas assembled a large force at Vishalgad and in the month of March 1673 a detachment under Malsavant, a 5-Hazari general, surprised and retook Panhala, which had been in the power of Bijapur since its capture by Sidi Johar. After the capture of that fort, an expeditionary force under the command of Annaji Datto was sent against Hubli, the richest mercantile city on the high road from Kolhapur to Banglore then in charge of Muzafar Khan, who was suspected of having entered into secret understanding with Shivaji. The city was plundered, when Muzafar was away from the place. For this act of treachery Muzafar was removed from his charge by the regent ; but he revolted and tried force to retain possession of his fiefs including Belgaon and other places between Goa and Canara.² This made Shivaji press the war with Bijapur. Anxious to possess himself of the whole coast, he sent his fleet to take possession of Karwar, Ankola and other places ; while he excited the Deshmukhs to rebel and drive out the Muhammadan thanadars. The Rana of Bednur, alarmed at the successes of the Marathas, early solicited protection and agreed to pay a yearly tribute and permitted a Vakil or Political Agent from Shivaji to reside at his capital.

The Maratha activities were not only confined to the south, but they were vigorously conducted in the Krishna valley. In the month of May a detachment of Mavales surprised Parali and advancing onward laid siege to the fort of Satara, then kept in good order by the Bijapur government. It took several months for the Marathas to capture the fort which eventually fell in September. Another Maratha force was despatched along the Shambhu Mahadev range and the forts of Pandavgad, Chandan-Vandan and Nandgiri, guarding the northern skirts of the Krishna valley, were occupied. The valley of the Krishna being thus encircled, the fortified thana of Wai on the banks of the Krishna was easily occupied. The occupation of the forts Panhala and Tathoda enclosed the valley further south, and the thanas of Karad and Kolhapur being taken possession of, the whole country as far as Raibag and Hukeri was overrun and annexed.³

The loss of Panhala, the raid on Hubli, the conquest in Canara and the occupation of the Krishna valley obliged Khawas Khan the regent to send Bahlol Khan with an army including 12000 horse into the territories of Shivaji. Bahlol marched through Miraj and regained possession of the open country near Panhala and took post at Kolhapur to watch the movements of the Marathas. Their King ordered Prataprao to meet him and drive him back into the Adil Shahy territories. Prataprao as a true general advanced between Bijapur

and Bahlol and intercepting his communication with the capital raided the country about Bijapur. Bahlol had to leave his post and commence his retreat eastward by way of Miraj. Prataprao was now ready to oppose him and advanced towards Miraj. The armies met at Umbrani midway between Bijapur and Miraj. The Bijapuris were surprised and after a severe struggle, which lasted for the whole day, the whole army of Bijapur was encircled by the Marathas. No way was left open to the enemy and the Adil Shahy general had to capitulate with all his baggage and war provisions. In the evening he sent word to Prataprao that he had no inimical intention against Shivaji and was fighting under the orders of the regent and therefore requested the Maratha general to let him off unmolested. Prataprao granted his request, but the terms on which this truce was granted are not known. Prataprao allowed him to depart, which greatly displeased Shivaji, who did not spare to blame him for it. The Maratha general, on being thus censured by the king, led his army into the Moghal territories and raided some Golconda districts, Devgad, Ramgir, and Bajedesh. In the midst of this campaign Nilo Sondev Majamudar died and the Majamudari was conferred on his second son Ramchandrapant.

The Bijapuris with their numerous wounded fell back on Tikota 13 miles west of Bijapur ; but being reinforced appeared in the Panhala district again a few months later in February 1674. Soon afterwards Prataprao followed

the Bijapuri general; and though he was censured for the escape of Bahlol, he was ordered to fall upon the enemy and to beat him so completely that he might not come back again. Shivaji even sent word to him that he should not show his face to his king without completely destroying Bahlol. Stung with the reproach Prataprao led his army against Bahlol and forced him to withdraw as far as Jesari, where departing from his usual method, the veteran closed at once with the enemy and rushed headlong upon Bahlol, followed only by six horsemen. The enemy jumped upon him and cut him down with his followers. The main body of the Maratha army was attacked, completely routed and pursued by them. But one division of the Maratha army under Hansaji Mohite a 5-Hazari general had not been engaged in the general rout. He now came up, when the Bijapuri troops were dispersed in the careless ardour of pursuit, and falling upon them unexpectedly completely changed the issue of the contest. The fugitives became the pursuers, victory succeeded defeat and Bahlol was again compelled to retire with disgrace to Bijapur. In the division of Hansaji Mohite two officers who greatly distinguished themselves, were promoted in consequence; and their names, Santaji Ghorpade and Dhanaji Jadhav, afterwards became renowned in the annals of Maharashtra.

After the death of Prataprao, Shivaji found great difficulties in securing a good successor to the post of Surnowdat or Commander-in-chief. He now ordered all

his officers to muster at Chiplun and having a review of them all selected Hansaji Mohite for the post. He was given the title of Hambirrao and was placed at the head of the army. He was a wise, brave, patient and careful general.

Immediately after his appointment he proceeded up the Ghats into the Kolhapur district and advanced to Sampgaon (Belgaon), where he was opposed by a Bijapuri general, Hussain Khan Miana, a Pathan. At Sampgaon a battle was fought, and Hussain Khan being captured the enemy was defeated. The Marathas captured 4500 horses, elephants and camels and ample provisions. Hussain Khan's brother was the governor of Koppal, which having a strong fort is well considered as the gate of the south. Moropant opened negotiations with him and persuaded him to hand over the fort to the Marathas. After possession of Koppal was secured, the whole of its dependency extending to the Toongabhadra was occupied by the Maratha forces.

The fort of Phonda was now invested by Shivaji's men, but its commandant a powerful Muhammadan Sardar successfully held out till Shivaji's coronation. Among the officers posted at Phonda by King Shivaji was a brave Muhammadan named Ibrahim Khan, who showed great bravery in the reduction of the fort.

While thus the Marathas were vastly adding to their possessions in Karnatic as far as the Toongabhadra, the

Moghals were harassing them from the north both by sea and land. In May 1673, the Moghal fleet of 30 frigates appeared before Bombay and asked leave of the English to spend the monsoon in the harbour. The English governor, Gerard Aungier brought this to Shivaji's notice and pressed for compensation for the raids on Rajapur and Hubli. The damage done to the English at Hubli had been assessed by Shivaji at £ 70 only and Shivaji maintained that his troops had spared their store-house. He, therefore, declined to allow the Hubli claim, but promised to pay the Rajapur claim, provided the English again settled at Rajapur. To this they agreed, but they evaded the Maratha King's demand to furnish him with cannon. While thus negotiating with Shivaji, Gerard Aungier managed with great dexterity not to offend the Moghals. He allowed four of their frigates to take shelter in Bombay harbour, and the rest of the Moghal fleet returned to Surat.⁴

After the monsoon the Moghal fleet sailed down the coast, taking many Maratha trading vessels and ships of war. On 10th October the Muslim fleet entered the Bombay harbour, sent landing parties to Pen and Nagothna rivers, laid waste the Maratha villages opposite Bombay and carried off many of the people. But at the end of the month some of the Shivaji's soldiers surprised a parcel of the Siddi's men as they were on shore *cutting the standing rice* in the country, and destroyed about a hundred of them

carrying away the heads of some to Shivaji. The great cruelty practised by the Moghal admirals on his subjects and their burning of several small towns in his territory provoked Shivaji much and his reprisals were apprehended in the Moghal dominions, especially at Surat.

In February 1674, we learn from an English letter, that "the war betwixt the Siddi and Shivaji is carried on but slowly, they being both weary"; and the President of Surat was requested by the Siddi "to mediate a peace between them." However in March Siddi Sambool attacked the Maratha admiral Daulat Khan in the Shatavali river (Muchkundi creek in the Ratnagiri District), when both the admirals were wounded. The Siddis lost 100 while the Marathas only 44 men. The Marathas were left victors and Siddi Sambool withdrew to Hareshwar, a port 21 miles south of Janjira. In the course of this year, the year of his coronation, Shivaji reduced the whole coast of South Konkan as far as Bardesh near Goa, with the exception of the port of Dunda Rajapuri, the recovery of which became an absorbing passion as well as a political necessity with him.

Simultaneously with these naval activities, Dilir Khan, the chief lieutenant of Bahadur Khan the Moghal general, tried to descend into north Konkan and advanced into the Maratha territories, when Shivaji issued orders to all his officers and Killedars to be very active and on

the alert to defend their posts bravely. Hambirrao the new Surnowbat was ordered to push into the heart of the Moghal Deccan and ravage it. Hambirrao sent his army in small detachments who led flying expeditions into Berar and Khandesh and attacked Burhanpur, Jalna and Mahoor and spread all over the Moghal Deccan as far as the Narmada. The Maratha harassed the territories and levied contributions. Bahadur thought of attacking Hambirrao from behind, but the soldiers in the Moghal army were intimidated by the rapid movements of the Marathas and would not fall upon them. Dilir Khan attacked the division under the command of the commander-in-chief, but he did not mind the Moghal presence and proceeded straight into his country and laid his possessions before the King.⁶

Dilir Khan, seeing that the Maratha general could not be vanquished, took an active part in assisting Bahlol and the Bijapur army. But during all this period, the Moghal activities remained very slow and no pressure could be got on the Marathas, now fast occupying the Adil Shahy districts in Karnatic and Canara. In April 1674 the Afghans in the Khaibar region revolted against the Moghal authority and Aurangzeb left Delhi for the frontier. Dilir Khan was also called thither and Bahadur was left alone in the Deccan.

After the conquest of Kolhapur, Koppal and Karwar, Shivaji divided his possessions in three provinces and

placed them under three great officers of the state, who as governors thereof were called Surkarkuns. The northern province was put in charge of Moropant Peshwa ; it was an extensive charge and extended over all the districts from Kalyan-Bhiwandi in the west to Salher in the east : and a great part of north Konkan and the uplands to the east of it including Lohgad and its dependency, the Original Jahgir of Shahaji and the twelve Mavals as far south as the Harali hills in the Shambhu Mahadev range, were also placed in the Peshwa's charge. The province of Konkan from Choul to Dabhol and Rajapur including the Kudal district and Vengurla, was placed in charge of Annaji Datto Soornis. The part of the Deccan tableland, being the upper valleys of the Krishna and other tributaries from Wai to Koppal near the Toongabhadra was governed by Dattajipant Vaknis, whose headquarters were located at Panhala. Mootaliks or agents of these Sarkarkuns were attached to the royal establishments and orders were issued that Surkarkuns were to attend the royal presence every year with all the accounts of these charges.⁷

CHAPTER XXI.

THE CORONATION.

In the midst of a campaign Shivaji and his ministers thought of performing the Coronation ceremony on a very grand scale to announce to all in India that the King of Maharashtra was a real king duly crowned according to the old orthodox rites of the Hindus. Since 1664, he had assumed the position of a king calling himself a Raja and coining money in his name. But there were other powerful families in Maharashtra, that were jealous of the rise of Bhonsles, whose representatives had been exercising territorial jurisdiction in their own Jahgeers though as vassals of other sovereign states, long before Maloji, the grand-father of Shivaji acquired position under the Nizam Shahy government of Ahmednagar. Many persons of these families refused to adhere to Shivaji as his servants, bragging of their being loyal subjects of Aurangzeb or of Adil Shah, and sneered at Shivaji as an upstart, rebel and a usurper. Besides his claim to royalty was not yet acknowledged by all the sovereign states in India: The Maratha envoys and ministers must have felt the necessity of being the dignified servants of a crowned king and not selfish accomplices in the cause of a rebel chief. Aware of their real merits and the piety of their cause and sensible of their high dignified positions, to which they had attained in the service of their master, they wanted their

king to be a real representative of their nation. It was, therefore, necessary to rectify the position of Shivaji in the eyes of the world. A formal coronation alone could show that he was a king and could enable him to stand on equal terms with the rulers of Delhi, Bijapur and Golconda.

It is certainly very doubtful to say with certainty who suggested this idea of coronation. Even the Marathas in their own country hold different views and attribute various motives to different persons about the coronation. But we believe that it was not a matter that was decided after careful consideration. It was felt as a political necessity and was soon carried out without loss of time even in the midst of a campaign. All the people of Maharashtra were now determined to assert their nationality and would certainly hail the idea of the coronation of Shivaji. The recent successes had added so much to their possessions that nothing was left to the Sultan of Bijapur except the central districts about Bijapur and the district of Gulbarga beyond the Bhima. The higher mind of Maharashtra had begun to look up to Shivaji as the champion of Hinduism and Maratha nationality, and wished to see the nation elevated to the full height of political growth by the formal assertion of Shivaji's position as an independent king. If Sabhasad, the court historian of Rajaram is to be believed, we see that the idea was first suggested by Gagabhadd and was at once approved of by Shivaji and his ministers.

Gagabhatt, writes Sabhasad, was a great scholar and a pious man in India. Hearing of the great fame of Shivaji, he once came to the Deccan to pay him a visit. He was respectfully received by Shivaji, accompanied by his great officers and Surkarkuns. He was worshipped as a pious guest and was presented with a palanquin, a horse and an elephant. Being highly pleased Gagabhatt thought to himself that a Muhammadan should rule as Emperor, sitting on an Imperial throne and under an Imperial canopy, while Shivaji, who had successfully opposed four sovereigns and who, being master of many forts and fortified places, commanded an army including 75,000 horse, should not have a throne. He, therefore, expressed his wish that the Raja of the Marathas should really be a Chhatrapati, master of royal canopy. The splendid achievements of Shivaji and his generals on the battlefield and of his statesmen and ministers in diplomacy and statecraft and the glorious administration set-up by the civil officers of the new state enjoying perfect peace and order, had raised the status of the Marathas even higher than that of the Rajputs and the Moghals of the north. The territorial gains of the Marathas in the Deccan during the last thirty years were greater in extent than those of the Moghals since they first invaded the Deccan under Akbar seventy years ago. The mere expression of his wish by Gagabhatt roused a sense of pride and satisfaction, and Shivaji called together his ministers and advisers who unanimously agreed to what Gagabhatt proposed.

A formal coronation on political grounds being decided upon, they began to think of the orthodox rites and observances to be gone through before the whole ceremony of coronation was thoroughly accomplished. For the last 400 years, there was no coronation of a king of Maharashtra and the priests of the country were unable to carry out the ceremony successfully. But Gagabhatt was there to guide them ; he had been to all the Rajput courts in northern India and himself was a great Pundit, well-versed in the whole orthodox literature of the Hindus. However there were other difficulties in the way. According to the ancient Hindu scriptures, only a member of the Kshatriya caste can be legally crowned as king. The Bhonsles were one of the ninety-six Kshatriya families in Maharashtra and traced their origin to the Sisodias of Mewad. The difficulty lay not in Shivaji's being a born Kshatriya, but in that the Marathas of those days had given up performing their domestic ceremonies according to the old orthodox rites. And therefore Shivaji, though a born Kshatriya, could not be considered as a "Dwija" or twice-born entitled to all the orthodox rites of the Aryan Hindus, so long as his *Vratibandha* ceremony, which is performed immediately after the stage of childhood to signify the "second birth", was not performed in his case. But the difficulty was soon got over, as nothing was impossible to the practical statesmen of Maharashtra. It is a fact, well-known to all the Hindu priests in India, that many belated ceremonies can be performed with some expiatory penances being observed previously. There is then no wonder that the

Vratibandha ceremony of Shivaji was duly performed at the age of 46 and thus he was made entitled to be crowned king according to the old orthodox rites of the Hindus.

On the 28th of May 1674, the *Vratibandha*-taking the vow of a twice-born-ceremony was performed. Before that Shivaji, as every boy on the eve of the ceremony is required to visit the shrine of his family god or goddess, had visited the holy shrines of Parashuram near Chiplun and of goddess Bhavani set up by him at Pratapgad. Next day, Shivaji made atonement for sins deliberate or accidental committed in his own life time. He was separately weighed against each of the seven metals-gold, silver, copper, zinc, tin, lead and iron; as well as linen, camphor, salt, nutmegs and other spices, butter, sugar, fruits and all sorts of eatables including betel leaves and country wine also. All these metals and other articles to the weight of his body, together with a lac of *hons* more were distributed to the Brahmins.

The 5th of June was the eve of the grand ceremony. It had to be spent in self-restraint and mortification of the flesh. Shivaji bathed in water brought from the holy Ganges, and giving Gagabhatt 5000 *hons* and other Brahmins a hundred gold pieces each, he passed the day in fasting.

A throne of gold, weighing thirty-two maunds set with valuable jewels of all the nine kinds stored in the royal jewellery was prepared; and it was decided to

make Rairigad, newly named Raigad meaning a royal fort, the seat of the throne and to hold the coronation ceremony there. Waters of the great seven rivers of India and the sea, and of other rivers and holy places, were ordered to be brought and vessels of gold were prepared. An auspicious day was selected when the eight ministers should pour on the head of His Majesty King Shivaji those holy waters from eight golden vessels. The day fixed was the thirteenth day in the bright half of the month of Jyeshtha in the Shaka year 1596. On that day Shivaji having taken a holy bath offered prayers to Shri Mahadev and the family deity Bhavani, and saluting his family priest Balambhatt son of Prabhakarbhatt, Gagabhatt and other pious persons sat on the holy golden *chouk* (a decorated square seat) for the coronation bath. The waters of the holy rivers and the sea were poured from golden vessels, and the bath being over Shivaji dressed himself in rich garments and precious ornaments and again saluting all elderly and holy persons, he ascended the throne, which was provided with eight gold posts where the eight ministers stood and attended the ceremony. Besides the eight ministers Bal Prabhu Chitnis and Nila Prabhu Parasnis and Mootalihs or deputies of all the ministers were also standing in their proper places. A royal canopy set with jewels and bordered with pearl hangings was held over the King and from that day the royal designation of Chhatrapati has since been applied to Shivaji and his descendants. A new era "Swasti Shri Shaka" was begun from the day of the coronation.

Rich presents and valuable rewards were given to Gagabhatt and other holy persons, and to the eight ministers and other civil and military officers. In this way His Majesty King Shivaji was crowned. It was not an ordinary occasion, for, in this Kali Yuga, or Dark age, all over the world the Mlenchas were the Padshahs or sovereigns and only the Padshah of the Marathas was made a Chhatrapati—Master of the Royal canopy.¹

CHAPTER XXII.

LEAGUE OF SOUTHERN POWERS.

Immediately after the coronation Shivaji received an embassy from Bombay. The English had never ceased to press their claims for losses suffered at Rajapur and Hubli and to ask that their rights should be defined by a regular treaty. The King had announced to receive the embassy at Raigad after his coronation Durbar. Accordingly Mr. Oxinden together with two English factors started from Bombay and reached Pachad at the foot of Raigad. They stayed at Pachad as King's guests until he could receive them, which he did on the day after he was crowned. Some twenty requests had been made by the East India Company. Of them the most important were:—

1. The English should be permitted freely to trade in the King's dominions on paying an import duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.
2. The English should be permitted to build permanent factories at Rajapur, Dabhol, Choul and Kalyan.
3. All English ships wrecked on the King's shores should be restored to them.
4. The King should compensate the English for their losses at Hubli and Rajapur.

The King received the embassy in state. The Englishmen were permitted to advance to the foot of the throne. There Oxinden presented a diamond ring and received in return a robe of honour. Some days later the King approved of a treaty, by which he allowed the English ten thousand pagodas† for their losses at Rajapur but refused to grant any compensation for the losses at Hubli.¹

A few days after the coronation on 18th June Shivaji's mother Jeejabai died. Throughout her life she had been his chief adviser and in cases of doubt and difficulty she was his sole guide. From her childhood she lived a life of troubles and hardships on account of the constant war with the Moghals. The strained relations between her father's family and her husband, due partly to her father's joining the Moghals and partly to her husband's second marriage, threw her in bitter pangs of sorrow and mortification ; but the evenness of her mind was never disturbed and she never neglected her son Shivaji, whom she instinctively considered to be the founder of the new Maratha state. He was the solace of her life and the origin of her inspiration to serve the country and to raise Maharashtra to a dignified state in India. She had implicit faith in her divine mission and in the real greatness of her son and his followers. She guided almost all the movements of her

† The European merchants called all gold coins pagodas. They were really *not* greatly circulated in Maharashtra in those days.

son and inspired him in the piety of his cause and in the assurance of success. She lived sufficiently long to witness the coronation of her son as an independent King and died soon after the ceremony.

The coronation did not interfere, for a long time, Shivaji's operations against the Moghals and Bijapuris ; and the Maratha cavalry began to show its activities early in July in the very height of the monsoon. The Moghal frontier from Shivneri to Pedgaon had been successfully defended by Bahadur Khan, however slow a general he might have been considered by the Marathas. Shivaji knew the importance of that line of defence and he clearly saw that unless the Moghals were dislodged from that line, occupation of any part of Moghal Deccan was an impossible task. With the object of tempting Bahadur away from his camp at Pedgaon, a body of 2000 Maratha light cavalry crossing the frontier entered deep into the Moghal territories. Bahadur followed them some 50 miles away from Pedgaon, when Shivaji himself fell, by another route, on the defenceless camp of Bahadur, and burning the tents and capturing 200 fine horses, collected for presentation to the Emperor, and plundering the camp retired into his own dominions.

Another division of the Maratha army tried to force their way, through the Koli country, to the Moghal possessions in Guzerat. But the Bhils of Ramnagar held the passes and the Marathas could not march onwards,

though the Maratha garrisons of the forts were strengthened by men and provisions. Meanwhile Shivaji in person, skirting Bahadur's camp, again entered the Moghal Deccan and appeared before Aurangabad. And causing terror at the headquarters of the Moghal viceroy of the Deccan burst into Khandesh and found his way to Baglana. On his way back to Konkan he halted at Junnar and made one more attempt to capture Shivneri. It was nearly successful and three hundred Marathas had actually scaled the fort walls. But the governor, Abdul Aziz Khan, was a gallant and experienced officer. He sent a part of his garrison to defend Junnar and with the rest attacked the storming party, captured their ropeladders and drove them into the interior of the fort. The next day the few survivors surrendered after a gallant resistance, seeing that the Moghals had strongly defended themselves near Junnar, he returned to Konkan. These flying expeditions through the heart of the Moghal districts were an effective means of loosening the defences on the Moghal frontier.

After thus attempting to batter and break the line of Moghal defences in the north, Shivaji at the beginning of the year 1675 directing his attention to the south made great preparations for the capture of the fort of Phonda, which had till then successfully resisted all the Maratha attacks. The hill fort of Phonda commands one of the easiest passes leading from south Konkan up into the Deccan plateau beyond the Sahyadri range and establishing direct communication between Rajapur and

Kolhapur. Preparations took a long time and it was not before the close of the campaigning season that a powerful Maratha army appeared before Phonda. During the monsoon the commandant of the fort was away at Bijapur and yet the garrison held out for some months. On his arrival he made a heroic defence and did not surrender the fort till he found it impossible to hold without reinforcements. Bahlol Khan though encamped at Miraj, was unable to send them as his passage to Phonda was well guarded by the Marathas. After the fall of the fort the Marathas were able to occupy the adjoining territories belonging to Bijapur. The fall of Phonda facilitated the complete occupation by the Marathas of Canara both on the uplands and along the coast. Inayat Khan the Adil Shahy Foudar of Ankola had, during the siege, seized the country and other forts held by the Killedar of Phonda; but he could make no stand against the Marathas and therefore gave up all the forts for money. In a few days Ankola, Shiveshwar, Karwar and Kadra all capitulated to the king of the Marathas, and the Raja of Sonda being defeated surrendered Supe and other places. By the end of May 1676, the whole country as far south as the Gangavati river passed out of Bijapuri possession into the hands of Shivaji, who, to speak in the language of Sabhasad, "extended his possessions from Gokarn Mahableshwar on the coast to Supe on the uplands." The Dawager Rani of Bednur, who had quarrelled with the regent Timmayya appealed to Shivaji for protection, agreed to pay him an annual tribute and admitted a Maratha resident at her court.

At the time of the conquest of Phonda and north Canara by the Marathas, the administration of Bijapur became more and more gloomy and the factions previous to the final extinction of the state in 1688, assumed a serious turn and the Moghals had their opportunity of interfering in the affairs of that unhappy state. Khawas Khan, the regent, finding his situation perilous sent his Diwan Surjam Rao to Bahadur Khan with offers of friendship and alliance. Bahadur and Khawas Khan met on the Krishna and a daughter of Khawas Khan was betrothed to the second son of the Moghal viceroy. Khawas Khan, at the same time, agreed to hold Bijapur as a dependent province of the Empire and to give in marriage Padshah Beebee, the young king's sister to one of the sons of Aurangzeb. The Emperor approved of the agreement and is said to have offered to give up one year's tribute from Bijapur, if that state heartily co-operated with his viceroy in a concerted attack on Shivaji from two sides. Bahlol Khan with his army was only twelve miles from the meeting place on the Krishna; and not liking this alliance with the Moghals arranged to assassinate Khawas Khan, which he did soon after and took possession of Bijapur in November 1675. The followers of Khawas Khan went to Adonee beyond the Toongabhadra and made an alliance with Kasil Koor a Zamindar. Bahlol marched to Adonee, defeated them and slew Kasil Koor.

Bahadur, the Moghal viceroy, hearing of the murder of Khawas Khan, reported the matter to the Emperor,

who called upon him to declare war on Bijapur. The Moghal army marched and encamped near Sholapur. Bahlol Khan marched to meet them, several bloody engagements followed, Bahlol retired into Bijapur and the Moghals pressed the war to the gates of the city. Bahadur sent his Diwan Luckeram to bring over some Bijapuri chiefs, who had taken refuge at Hyderabad. At Hingeh he erected his camp where he called together all the Bijapuri exiles. Siddi Massaud, Shirza Khan and many other Bijapuri nobles joined the Moghals; and a vigorous campaign against Bijapur was opened in May 1676.²

The consequence of this proposed invasion of Bijapur was to drive the new regent Bahlol Khan into the arms of Shivaji. Pressed on two sides by the Moghals in the north and the Marathas in the west, Bahlol, to avoid the danger of Bijapur falling into the hands of the Moghals, opened negotiations with Shivaji and in July we have the report of a peace between the two having been concluded through the mediation of the Golconda minister, Madanna Pandit. The terms of the treaty were that the Adil Shahy government would pay Shivaji three lacs of *hons* down as a gift and one lac of *hons* annually as subsidy for protection against the Moghals, and confirm him in possession of the country bounded on the east by the Krishna including the Kolhapur district.³

2. Scott Vol. II 37-43.

3. Prof. J. Sarkar 299.

At the court of Golconda also the Moghal influence had declined after the death of Abdool Kootb Shah in 1672; and the new Sultan Abu Hussain made an alliance of friendship with king Shivaji and accepted at his court a Maratha ambassador Pralhadpant, son of Nirajipant, promising at the same time to pay tribute to Shivaji. Abu Hussain was a powerful king and was able to assert the dignity of his high rank. He was under the influence of two brothers, Madanna and Akanna, particularly the former who was reckoned one of the ablest statesmen in the Deccan. Madanna was a personal friend of Raghunath Narayan Hanmante, a man of ability and a great statesman of Maharashtra. The close alliance of Shivaji with Golconda and the treaty of peace between Shivaji and Bahlol Khan deterred Bahadur Khan from prosecuting the war against Bijapur and for a time he retired from the Adil Shahy territories.

During the eventful years after the coronation, the chief adviser of Shivaji was Raghunath Narayan Hanmante and all the plans for the aggrandisement of the Maratha power in the south were organised by him. He was the eldest son of Naro Dikshit one of the followers of Shahaji. Among the wise and able revenue officers and administrators, who followed Shahaji in the Karnatik, none was so great as Naro Dikshit. After the death of this great man, his son Raghunath Narayan succeeded to the post of his father and distinguished himself in the wise administration of the new state of Tanjore created by Shahaji. Raghunath was a man of superior abilities

and shared with his master Shahaji those high qualities, which distinguished the Marathas of all castes in the seventeenth century and which secured them high posts of honour or military commands in any state in southern India. Raghunath was an ambitious man and a born patriot of Maharashtra. His reforms in civil administration in all parts of Shahaji's Jahgeer consolidated the Maratha gains as much as the military exploits of Shahaji. His reputation as a wise and able administrator had been known at the courts of all chiefs in the south. After the death of Shahaji in 1664, he continued as administrator under his master's son Venkoji. Under his guidance the court of Tanjore was bound to be an exemplary court for wise administration and good government. But his new master had not those abilities which distinguished his father. He was of an impetuous character and having no qualities of a good fighter, he thought that he could administer his state without any aid from his father's advisers. Raghunath Narayan, being disgusted with his young master, left his service and proceeded to Maharashtra to seek employment under Shivaji. On his way he went to Hyderabad, where he was honourably received by Madanna Pandit, minister to the Sultan. There he gained full confidence of Madanna and strengthened a close friendship with him. On his arrival at the court of Shivaji, who knew his abilities very well, he was received by him with great respect. Ramachandrapant being the youngest of his ministers, Shivaji displaced him to make room for Raghunathpant, on whom he conferred the office of Amatya or Majamudar, minister of finance.

Affairs in the Deccan had reached a stage, when the final struggle for supremacy between Shivaji and Aurangzeb became imminent. The courts of Bijapur and Golconda had been weakened by the constant factious wars and the encroachments of the Moghals and the Marathas ; and being now in league with Shivaji were prepared to offer resistance to the Moghals. Bahadur, Khan, the Moghal viceroy, though desirous of annexing the whole Deccan to the Empire, was slow in his operations ; and Aurangzeb persevered in a systematic plan of intrigues, calculated as he conceived, to weaken and undermine the powers of the Deccan so effectively that when he could spare sufficient leisure, he might, with an overwhelming force, sweep all before him and find a country rather to settle than to subdue. Shivaji was still contemptible as a power in the eyes of Aurangzeb, and whilst so considered, his ravages directed against Bijapur and Golconda were favourable to the Emperor's plan. In this view we may, in some measure, account for the conduct of Bahadur Khan, who for a long time enjoyed as much of Aurangzeb's confidence as any other officer, although it must have been well-known to the Emperor that Shivaji frequently purchased his connivance.⁴

While thus the Emperor of the north was waiting for an opportunity to strike the final blow, the king of the Marathas, with tact and energy, was building his

plans of resistance by alliances with powers whose very existence was threatened by the Moghals. He knew that the resources of his kingdom were too meagre to wage a war of independence against the Moghals; he knew that the courts of Bijapur and Golconda were too weakened to offer an effective resistance; and he knew that the small Hindu principalities, scattered over south India beyond the Tqongabhadra, would be subdued in one campaign by the Moghals, which he himself actually did in his campaign of 1677. With a constructive genius, worthy of a founder of a nationality, Shivaji was resolved, by appealing to their sense of common danger, to win over the Muhammadan courts of Bijapur and Golconda and the innumerable Palegars and Desais of the south with a view to arrest the Moghal advance. Under his supremacy and guidance, the Deccan was sure to be saved from being absorbed in the Empire of the north. All the chiefs and peoples of the Deccan wanted freedom and knew that Shivaji was the only power to ensure it. The situation was well grasped by the Maratha king, who to ensure his final victory secured with alacrity the services of a man, Raghunath Narayan Hanmante—having extraordinary influence at all the courts in the south and knowing full well the languages and institutions of the peoples thereof.

It was a hard game, which Shivaji and Aurangzeb were each playing against the other to outwit his opponent and to ensure his final victory in the Deccan. Aurangzeb calculated upon the destruction of Bijapur and

Golconda, while Shivaji was attempting to strengthen his position by alliances with the two Muhammadan courts and other Hindu chiefs in the south. The subsidiary alliances with Bijapur and Golconda, which he had recently made with them, secured him a highly dignified position and would eventually make him the supreme power in the Deccan. The great struggle for supremacy in the Deccan was to take place between Shivaji and Aurangzeb, a national hero and an ambitious Emperor. The expedition of Shivaji into the Karnatik, which he was now beginning, was not a plundering raid, nor was it so considered by any of the then chiefs, great and small through whose territories Shivaji led his men. It was the march of a victorious king, claiming tribute from Sultans and Princes, from Desais and Palegars, and extending his arm of protection to those who honoured him as protector and chastising those who opposed and tried to belittle him. In some respects it resembled the glorious marches of the Hindu emperors of old days, undertaken by them on the eve of Horse-sacrifices, described in glowing language in the mythological and semi-historical writings of the Hindus.

CHAPTER XXIII.

INVASION OF KARNATIK.

The word Karnatik, which means land of the Kanarese, was applied by the Muhammadans to the whole peninsula south of the Toongabhadra and the Krishna, including Mysore and Bellary-Dharwar region or proper Karnatik, Karnool and Cuddapah districts a part of Telingana and the eastern plain from Madras southwards which is the Dravid country, a land of the Tamil-speaking people. The whole country in its broader sense had been, since the break up of the Vijaynagar Empire, divided among small princes and chiefs, always fighting with each other and never uniting in a bold attempt to resist the Muhammadans of Bijapur and Golconda. Its conquest by the two Sultans had never been complete and powerful commanders with large armies had to be stationed there with grants of permanent Jahgeers to overawe the refractory Palegars. In fact parts of the country, once conquered by the generals of Bijapur and Golconda, were also owned by them as free Jahgeers. Thus it was full of small principalities. The chiefs of many of these were subjugated and forced to pay tribute to Bijapur by Shahaji. Venkoji owing to the weakness of the Bijapur court, was acknowledged a vassal chief and not an Adil Shahy viceroy. Raghunath Narayan fully knew the situation and advised Shivaji to undertake an expedition in the regions, where he hoped that Shahaji's

son, more powerful than his father and founder of an independent kingdom in Maharashtra, would readily be accepted by all the petty chiefs as their overlord.

The rainy season of 1676 Shivaji spent at Raigad, but immediately the monsoon had abated he turned his attention to the regions lying to the east beyond the Krishna and intervening the central districts of Bijapur and Shivaji's possessions in west Satara and Kolhapur. Bijapur was now fast hastening to a dissolution, though Bahadur Khan the regent was in league with Shivaji. The only fear which Shivaji expected on his eastern frontier was from the Maratha chiefs, Nimbalkar, Ghatage and Duffley. Shivaji was not opposed to them and knew well that on the final fall of Bijapur they would transfer their allegiance to him. But at this time in view of the subsidiary alliance with Bijapur and his bold scheme of a grand coalition against the Moghals, he was not willing to annex Bijapur and to give the final stroke to the Adil Shahy state. But he wanted to defend his eastern frontier, in case the Moghals were able to occupy Bijapur by a line of forts and fortified places. Between Tathawada towards the eastern end of the Shambu Mahadev range and Kolhapur, he built four forts named Vardhangad, Bhushangad, Sadashivgad and Machhindragad and thus secured his eastern frontier.

The fatigues of the year's campaign had been too much even for the iron frame of Shivaji and for some months he was confined to bed at Satara by intermittent

fever. As he lay in bed, he planned the expedition in the extreme south in consultation with his experienced ministers and specially with Raghunath Narayan, the ex-minister of Tanjore. The boldness of design and skill in execution in planning this expedition suffice to place Shivaji in the front rank of the world's greatest generals.

The expedition was finally decided and Shivaji expected to be absent from Maharashtra for a long time ; but, "fearing that his enemy Bahadur Khan would, in his absence, easily attack the Maratha territories, Shivaji successfully tried to conciliate him by rich presents and ensured his inactivity for one year during which period he hoped to achieve his object in the south."

Before setting out on his most glorious expedition, Shivaji made all the arrangements for the administration of his kingdom during his absence. Moropant, the Prime Minister, was appointed regent of the state and was particularly intrusted with the charge of the northern part of the kingdom. Annaji Datto, the Pant Sachiv, who had played a conspicuous part in the reduction and settlement of Konkan, was ordered to look after that province. These two ministers with Dattaji Trimbak, the Mantri formed the council of regency.

Having made all the arrangements, he wrote to Pralhad Niraji, his ambassador at Hyderabad, about his intended visit to the Kootb Shahy court. His intention in going to Hyderabad was, according to Sabhasad, to

secure from that rich court money required for that distant campaign. He knew that money could not be extorted from that Sultan, as he was actually paying annual tributes and was in friendly alliance with the Maratha state. Pralhad Niraji was therefore instructed to convey to the Sultan and his minister an assurance of his intention of a peaceful visit and honesty of purpose. Kootb Shah having agreed to receive him, Shivaji started from Raigad at the beginning of January 1677, at the head of a large body of 25000 horse of the Paga cavalry and accompanied by Raghunath Narayan and his brother Janardan Narayan. He advanced due east by regular marches and on entering the territory of the Kootb Shahy Sultan of Hyderabad he issued strict orders not to molest the rayats and not to demand a pie from them, wherever the Marathas encamped, provisions were purchased for proper prices, and thus without molesting the people the Maratha force marched on to Hyderabad. The Sultan was ready to receive Shivaji at a distance from his capital, but Shivaji prevented him to leave his capital saying that "the Sultan whom he considered as his elder brother should not come out to receive him" Accordingly the Sultan remained at Hyderabad and the two brother ministers, Madanna and Akanna, advancing a few miles from the capital, received the Maratha king and took him into the city.

The whole city was splendidly decorated to welcome the royal guest and protector of the state; and a grand procession was arranged to lead Shivaji and his courtiers.

through the streets of Hyderabad to the palace of the Kootb Shah. On the way the citizens of Hyderabad threw flowers of gold and silver over Shivaji, while women cordially received and blessed him by waving lamps* round his face. Shivaji on his way to the palace distributed alms and clothes among the poor.

When the grand procession arrived at the palace, all stopped before the gate while Shivaji accompanied by four of his courtiers entered the Hall of Audience, where the Sultan advancing to the door received him and conducted him to the royal seat and seated him by his side. His courtiers, Janardan Narayan, Pralhadpant, Sonaji Naik and Babaji Dhandhere were cordially taken into the Hall. A Durbar was held and the king of the Marathas was formally received by the Sultan of Hyderabad. Ladies of the Sultan's harem were also present and were viewing the Durbar through screens. Rich presents were made to the royal guest and his courtiers, after which the Durbar was declared at an end by the master of ceremonies. After the usual formalities were gone through, a friendly conversation lasting for over three hours took place between the two monarchs; and at the end of it Shivaji was taken to the palace, which was assigned for his residence during his stay at Hyderabad.

Next day Madanna Pandit invited Shivaji to dine with him and a very grand feast was arranged in honour of the Maratha king, when the old venerable mother of the

* It is auspicious amongst the Hindus.

minister personally served Shivaji and blessed him. For one month the king stayed at Hyderabad, during which time he was respectfully received at their mansions by the chief nobles of the court. At the close of his stay, the Sultan again held a Durbar and gave valuable presents in jewels, pearls and diamonds and other precious stones to Shivaji and many of his followers, both civil and military officers.

The whole Maratha host with their king moved on to the south. The Krishna was crossed and they entered the district of Karnool, while the army was marching on to Cuddapah, Shivaji with a few followers went to Shri Shaila, 70 miles east of Karnool, to pay his respects at the holy shrine standing on a picturesque plateau overhanging the Krishna. The usual religious ceremonies of a pilgrim he performed at the holy place and then retraced his steps to join the main army.

Shivaji now crossed the line of the eastern Ghats and entered the plain of the Karnatik. Passing by a village, seven miles from Madras, in the first week of May he arrived at Jinji then in possession of an Adil Shahy governor. The country, through which Shivaji now passed, belonged nominally to Bijapur, but owing to the decay of the central government it had passed into the hands of the local chiefs. The governor of Jinji was afraid of Shivaji and went in person to his camp and handed over the keys of the fortress, when he was given assurances of personal safety; and after his capitulation the Marathas entered Jinji in triumph. Then was

defeated and taken alive Sher Khan, a 5-Hazari general under Bijapur, who being in charge of the Mahal of Triwadi (Tiruwadi 13 miles to the west of Cuddalore) did not allow peaceful possession of the same by Shivaji. The Marathas captured five thousand horses, twelve elephants and ample provisions and the whole Mahal was occupied. Shivaji had already advanced to Vellore and summoned the commandant of the fort to surrender it, but he returned an insulting answer and defended the town with resolution. The fall of Jinji enabled Shivaji to press the siege of Vellore. His experienced eye noticed that two hills in the neighbourhood commanded the defences of the town. Posting batteries on the hills, which he named Sajra and Gojra, he overcame the commandant's resistance and in September 1676 Vellore surrendered.¹ Meanwhile the whole tract with its one hundred forts and an income of twenty lacs of hons was occupied. Jinji was made the headquarters of this new province and Raghunath Narayan, being given charge of the revenue administration, was made governor of the province. To defend the conquest and to maintain peace and order an army under Hambirrao Senapati was also posted in the province.

Shivaji did not await the fall of Vellore or the complete subjugation of the province, but after giving instructions to his generals about the conduct of the

1. Prof. J. Sarkar says that Vellore fell after a siege of 14 months, [Page 294]

campaign he went with his mounted troops to Tirumalwadi on the north bank of the Koleroon, ten miles due north of Tanjore and made a halt there. Here an envoy from Chokka-nath, the Nayak or ruler of Madura and the chief ally of Venkoji, waited upon Shivaji, who demanded from him one crore of rupees arguing that the Nayak bore the sign of being worth nine crores. The envoy answered that part of his master's possessions the Nayak of Mysore had taken and part Venkoji, and that, if Shivaji would restore him his possessions, he would give an annual tribute of seven lac^s. The tribute was not soon settled and negotiations continued till Raghunath Narayan went to Madura with the Nayak's envoy and settled the tribute at six lacs of hon^s.²

In the meantime messages had been passing between Shivaji and his half-brother Venkoji for a meeting. At last Venkoji left Tanjore and came to see Shivaji with all his civil and military officers—Kakajipant, the Peshwa Konher Mahadev, the Majamudar and Jagannathpant, son of Venkaji Datto. Two natural sons of Shambaji, Bhiwaji Raje and Pratapji Raje, also accompanied Venkoji. All these officers and other courtiers were duly presented to Shivaji and were honoured by him. The two brothers lived together for a week and passed their days in feasts and enjoyment. One day Shivaji, opening conversation with his brother, said that Venkoji had the twelve Birudas (some sacred objects of worship) of their father and that

² For. J. Sarkar's Shivaji 389.

he, as elder of the two, should have possession of them. Venkoji was promised new ones, but this petty demand on the part of Shivaji scared Venkoji, who afraid of being captured and imprisoned left the camp on the same night with almost all his followers. Early in the morning Shivaji, hearing of the flight of his brother, was sorry to have given expression to his desires. Santaji Bhonsle, another natural son of Shahaji, being highly pleased with Shivaji and his heroic conduct, joined him and was honoured and being given a large Jahgeer was made a Hazari Shiledar.³

These campaigns in the Karnatik, often varied by pilgrimages to holy places, were at an end by the beginning of November 1677—when Shivaji, leaving the bulk of his army in occupation of the new province and for subjugation of places not yet reduced, ascended the eastern Ghats into the tableland of Mysore with his two generals Anandrao and Manaji More, and began to add to his conquests. The two forts of Kolar and Balapur were reduced and other forts being also occupied new ones were built at suitable places. This new province above the Ghats being occupied was placed in charge of Rango Narayan, while Sardar Manaji More was appointed military commander of the army of occupation. Leaving that province behind, Shivaji with his general Anandrao marched northwards and visiting his possessions Koppal and Laxmeshwar arrived in the province of Sampgaon

(i. e. Belgaon). In that province there was a fort named Valvada, which being besieged was ably defended by its female owner the Desaeen. But eventually she was defeated and Shivaji returned to Panhala in the district of Kolhapur in March 1678.

Venkoji, on returning to Tanjore, set on foot intrigues with the Nayaks of Madura and Mysore, and even appealed to Bijapur and other Muhammadan nobles to organise a stern opposition to Shivaji for regaining their own. The Nayak of Madura remained neutral and no help seems to have come from Mysore or Bijapur. On the departure of Shivaji to the Deccan, Venkoji Raje, at the head of a large army consisting of his own men and those of other local Palegars, advanced against Hambirrao and Raghunath Narayan. Venkoji's horse numbered four times the horse of Hambirrao and his infantry also far out-numbered Shivaji's men. But in the bloody battle that ensued Hambirrao was successful and he captured 4000 horses of Venkoji and many elephants. Hambirrao and Raghunathpant pursued Venkoji and now marched on Tanjore, having previously sent messengers to Shivaji to inform him of what they had done.

Under orders from Shivaji a treaty was concluded with Venkoji through the mediation of Raghunath Narayan. Shivaji after nearly one year of occupation ceded the Karnatic plain to Venkoji, retaining only the forts in his hands as well as the tableland of Mysore

which had belonged to his father. The army of occupation under Hambirrao was recalled and Raghunath Narayan, who organised a local force of 10,000 horse for the defence of the country, continued to act as regent and adviser to Venkoji.

Disturbances in the city of Bijapur continued to increase and Shivaji thought it necessary to return to Panhala. But, as he was determined to connect the districts just occupied and eastern and central Mysore with his original possessions in Kolhapur, the Maratha activities in the Koppal region did not cease. After the treaty with Venkoji and consequent cession of the Karnatic plain to him, Hambirrao was ordered to return to Maharashtra with his army. On his way back he assisted Janardan Narayan in the reduction of the Toongabhadra region. The doab between the Krishna and the Toongabhadra, with the districts of Dharwar and Belgaon, intervened between Mysore and Kolhapur. This country had been held by two Afghans, Hussein Khan Miana of Belgaon and Qasim Khan of Koppal. The fort of Koppal had already been secured by the Mukhya Pradhan, Moropant. Hussein Khan was a brave general renowned for martial spirit and had under him a powerful army of 5000 Pathans. Hussein Khan is said by Chitnis [Page 110.] to have opposed Shivaji's return by the Koppal-Gadag route and to have been repulsed by him. Some time afterwards he was defeated and captured by Hambirrao near Belgaon, but dismissed by Shivaji with honour. According to a late tradition,

Hussein Khan being a man of a delicate sense of honour, took his disgrace to heart and swallowed poison.

The possession of Koppal enabled the Maratha dominions to be extended to the Toongabhadra river in the south. The conquest of this district from Belgaon to the Toongabhadra must have taken a long time and Maratha activities in this region have been recorded at various times by different writers. The fall of Phonda and the conquest of Canara relieved a large part of Shivaji's forces and the same must have been used for the reduction of this region. Soon after the invasion of the Karnatic its conquest was completed and Shivaji's share of his personal activities was not small. It is said that many of the local chieftains, who had long defied the Bijapur government were chastised by the Marathas and reduced to obedience; among them were the Palegars of Kanakgiri, Harpanhalli, Raidoorg, Chitaldoorg, Vidyanagar (i.e. Vijaynagar) and Bundikot. This country was formed into a regular province of Shivaji's kingdom and placed under Janardan Narayan Hanmante as viceroy.

It is said that Shivaji had announced, before starting on his expedition, that he was going out to Tanjore to recover his half share of his father's Jahgeer. The report might have been there, but no credit can be given to it as it was not the object which actuated Shivaji to undertake the expedition. During the two years previous to the expedition continuous fighting was going on in

the Toongabhadra region and Shivaji's forces were there actively engaged against the Adil Shahy governors and refractory Palegars. There is much sense in saying that, if Shivaji wanted a share of Shahaji's possessions, he would have directed his forces to cross the Toongabhadra region and to occupy Bangalore and other Shahaji's places. Even the agreement between the two brothers gave very favourable terms to Venkoji, who was left master of the Karnatic plain from Madras southwards, a region far more fertile, wealthy and extensive than the districts in the Mysore plateau which he was required to cede to Shivaji. The real motive for the expedition was, as shown at the beginning of this chapter, to form a grand coalition against the Moghals. The Moghal frontier then ran from Junnar to Pedgaon and thence to Sholapur, all along the north bank of the Bhima. Shivaji defended the southern bank and knew full well that his line of defence being impenetrable, the Moghal advance would be towards the east or against Bijapur direct and that they would attack Gulbarga and Bijapur simultaneously which they actually did during his absence in Karnatic. He knew that all his efforts to stem the tide of Moghal advance into the Deccan would be futile, if the Moghals crossed the line of the Bhima and occupied Bijapur, from where they could move westward up along the courses of the Bhima, the Krishna and their tributaries in the heart of his possessions, the Ghatmatha and the hills. His motive was to defend this frontier, running along the southern

bank of the Bhima and eastwardⁿ across that river through Gulbarga to Hyderabad. It was along this frontier, therefore, he led his expeditionary forces to Hyderabad and on his way cemented his alliance with Bahlol Khan and Hussain Shah.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE DOOMED CITY OF BIJAPUR.

While Shivaji was engaged in subduing the Adil Shahy officers and Jahgirdars and other chiefs in Karnatik affairs at Bijapur and in the Moghal Deccan were undergoing a complete change. The truce, which Bahadur Khan had entered into with Shivaji, was not approved of by Aurangzeb and his campaign against the Bijapur state in the Gulbarga district was condemned by him. Bahlol Khan was an Afghan and the Afghan generals in the Imperial army privately sent messages to Bahlol that Bijapur was in danger and that his only way to avoid the storm would be to make proposals of peace to Bahadur Khan and to come to visit him. Bahlol Khan listening to the advice entreated peace of Bahadur Khan, who agreeing to his request sent Dilir Khan to meet Bahlol and to bring him to his camp near the Bhima. Meanwhile he managed to secure the forts of Tunnee and Gulbarga. Bahlol Khan arriving in the Moghal camp presented the viceroy with ornaments, jewels, elephants and horses. A peace was concluded and a Moghal officer was sent as resident at Bijapur and two other officers were appointed Killedars of Tunnee and Gulbarga. Bahlol Khan and Dilir Khan being dissatisfied at Bahadur Khan's having got possession of those places, wrote petitions to the court, setting forth that Bahadur Khan had made private arrangements with the king of Hyderabad, the Deccanics

and Shivaji and did not act with vigour in his government, and that if he should be called to the presence they would bring Hyderabad into the Imperial possession without delay. The Emperor deceived by this petition recalled Bahadur Khan from the Deccan and appointed Dilir Khan in his place. Bahadur Khan then left Gulbarga for the court.

Dilir Khan and Bahlol Khan marched with their armies to Malkhed, which soon fell to the Moghals and the Kootb Shahy garrison evacuated it. The Deccanis made such opposition that the Afghans durst not look to Hyderabad. There now fell continual rains and the scarcity of grain became excessive. Skirmishes between the two armies occurred for two months together daily. The troops of Bahlol Khan deserted to the enemy and now Dilir Khan set on foot negotiations of truce with the Deccanis and began to retreat towards Gulbarga. The retreating columns of Dilir Khan were distressed by the Deccanis, and but for the Rajputs who showed astonishing instances of valour upon this trying occasion, the whole Imperial army would have been ruined. Dilir Khan returned to the Imperial provinces, thus ending without advantage a very expensive and disgraceful campaign¹.

The troops of Bijapur suffered great privation and discontent grew daily in the Adil Shahy army. The factious jealousy of Bijapur nobles was raised to a high

¹ Scott's Deccan Vol. II 44-49.

degree and a new party headed by Massaud Khan, son-in-law of Siddi Johur and Jahgirdar of Adoni, opened negotiations with Dilir Khan, who now assumed airs of an arbitrator. Massaud Khan met him in November 1677 and a treaty was drawn up by which Dilir exacted heavy and humiliating concessions from the Bijapur nobleman of Adoni. He bound himself to fulfil the agreement made by Khawas Khan, to preserve peace and order, to have no sort of communication with Shivaji, to abide by the advice of Dilir Khan on all occasions and above all to send Padshah Beebee, sister of the young Sultan, to the Moghal camp.²

Meanwhile Bahlol Khan the regent was taken ill and at last died on 23rd December 1677. His place was taken by Jamshid Khan, another powerful noble of Bijapur. But "Jamshid—to speak in the language of Rajapur factors in their letter dated 3rd April—since the death of his master Nawab Bahlol Khan found himself incapable of longer holding out, agrees with Shivaji to deliver up [the fort of Bijapur and the person of Shikandar Adil Shah] and 600,000 pagodas. Siddi Massaud, having intelligence of this, feigns sickness and at last death and causes a *handol* publicly to be sent away with part of the army to Adoni, the residue of his troops about 4000 sent to Jamshid pretending that since the leader was dead, if he would entertain them, they would serve him. He presently accepts their service and receives them into the fort, who within two days seized

² Prof. J. Sarkar's Shivaji, 402.

his person, caused the gates to be opened and received Massaud Khan alive, on 21st February 1678. Shivaji upon his march hearing this news returns and is expected at Panhala in a short time”.

In the meantime, affairs at Hyderabad assumed a different turn. A rupture took place between the Marathas and the Kootb Shah. The diplomatic system, so patiently built up by Madannâ Pandit, fell to the ground. Kootb Shah's indignation had been rising as he found himself made a mere cat's paw of Shivaji in the Karnatik adventure. The attempt of Jamshid Khan to sell the fort of Bijapur and the person of the Adil Shah to Shivaji destroyed any hope of the Golcondâ King. He, therefore, arranged for a peace between Massaud Khan and his rivals, helped him with money to pacify the unpaid mutinous soldiery and bound him to wage a war against Shivaji “to confine him to Konkan.” The Adil Shahy nobles prepared to open the campaign in October next with about 25,000 cavalry and numerous infantry. But Dilir Khan spoiled the whole plan. He had exacted heavy and humiliating concessions, the odium of which fell on Massaud Khan. With the money paid by Sultan Abu Hussain he paid a part of the arrears to the soldiers, but he found that he was unable to retain a great portion of the cavalry. Large bodies were let loose upon the country in consequence; some were entertained by Moropant, the prime minister of the Marathas, and others joined the Moghals. A gloomy discontent prevailed at Bijapur, but on the new regent's

promising not to give the king's sister to the Moghals, he acquired considerable popularity.

The truce between Bijapur and the Moghals was not a lasting peace. The terms imposed upon Massaud, though exacting and humiliating, were not to the satisfaction of the Emperor. Aurangzeb was displeased with the adjustment which Dilir Khan had made and informed him that he ought to have effected a more complete arrangement by providing for the nobility, paying the arrears of the troops and taking the government under the Imperial protection. He, therefore, commanded him to endeavour to amend his error whilst it was yet reparable, to pay the arrears of the cavalry and to draw over as many officers as he could. Prince Muazzim was again appointed to the government of the Deccan, but the command of the army in the field remained with Dilir Khan.

The city of Bijapur, the seat of the Adil Shahy government for the last two hundred years, was torn by factions. Distracted by domestic quarrels, daily insulted and threatened by the Afghan soldiers and hopeless of preventing the last calamity with the resources of the ruined, divided and bankrupt state, Massaud Khan was now threatened by the Moghals with an immediate siege of the doomed city, if the demand for the princess Padshah Beebee was not instantly complied with. Massaud Khan refused compliance, knowing full well that the citizens were unwilling to hand over their last

and favourite princess to the Moghals so ignominiously. But one of the factions assembled in arms to enforce the Moghal demand, at a time when the regent was unprepared. But a battle in the midst of the city was prevented by the young princess, who herself repaired to the spot and declared her intention of proceeding to the Moghal camp, vainly and generously imagining that by this sacrifice her brother and his kingdom might be saved. The princess was now taken to Dilir's camp and a fit escort being furnished to conduct her to Aurangabad, she was sent off from the accursed city, the residence of her ancestors since 1485.

The surrender of the princess did not satisfy the Moghals and they commenced their advance to invest the city. Massaud Khan now became bewildered by the disturbances and in his dilemma sought assistance from Shivaji. He wrote to him, "we are neighbours, we eat the same salt, you are as deeply concerned in the welfare of this state as I am. The enemy [i.e., Moghals] are day and night trying to ruin it. We two ought to unite and expel the foreigners."

It was about the month of October 1678, just after the rainy season, that the Moghals pressed their demands on the Bijapur court. Under orders from Aurangzeb Dilir was ready to advance to the gates of the capital and to bring that state under Moghal protection. The ambition of Aurangzeb to annex Bijapur was on the

point of being realised ; and Dilir Khan, who for the last twenty years had been fighting in almost all the wars of the Deccan, hoped to be honoured as the conqueror of Bijapur. At Purandhar in 1666 he was denied, by the imperious Mirza Raja, the honour of being the captor of that famous fort. As second in command under Bahadur Khan he advocated a forward policy of attack, ing the Marathas in their own territories, but that shrewd, though in Dilir's opinion, slow, general forming an impregnable line of defence along the Bhima awaited his chance of subduing Shivaji. But now Dilir Khan was in the command of the whole Moghal army in the Deccan and had the imperial sanction to wage war to the gates of Bijapur and to occupy the city.

Dilir Khan crossed the line of the Bhima at the north-eastern corner of the Nimbalkar's Jahgeer and took possession of the fort of Akluj on the banks of the Nira. From Akluj he advanced in the direction of Bijapur, by way of Pandharpur, Sangola and Mangalvedha, and reached Tikota thirteen miles west of Bijapur. Massaud Khan, being frightened at the advance of the Moghal army, immediately asked for help from Shivaji as agreed upon. Shivaji, who was ever ready to fight with the Moghals to prevent the fall of Bijapur into their hands, sent a large army to hover round the Moghal army and another strong force to invade the centre of the Moghal Deccan and to cut off all communications between Aurangabad and Dilir's forces fighting near Bijapur. On the approach of the Moghals near Bijapur Massaud Khan

suspecting or being made to suspect evil motives in Shivaji, wavered for a time and wished to negotiate with Dilir; but the Moghal commander wanted to take possession of Bijapur and would listen to no terms. He had besides no leisure to carry on the negotiations, as one of Shivaji's generals at the head of a strong force had already left Panhala and was ready to attack the Moghals, from behind.

Bijapur was saved. when Dilir Khan was required to send a large portion of the Moghal army to meet the Marathas, now rapidly advancing from Miraj towards Bijapur. The Moghals came as far as Bhupalgad in the Majra hills, lying midway between Bijapur and Miraj. The Maratha commandant of the fort was ready to engage the enemy and push them back from before the fort. By great labour the imperialists dragged some guns to a neighbouring height during the night and the next morning began to batter the walls and towers. The assault was launched in the morning and the Moghals fought with vigour till noon, when the fort was captured after heavy slaughter on both sides. Vast quantities of grain and other property and large numbers of people were captured by the victors. Seven hundred survivors of the garrison were deprived of one hand each and then set free; the other captives were evidently sold in captivity.⁴

Dilir Khan considered the capture of Bhupalgad as a great victory; but re-inforcements from Miraj arriving

quickly, the Moghals. Were hemmed in on all sides, Bhupalgad could not be held by the Moghals, who burning every thing that they could not carry off and dismantling the fortifications retired towards the Bhima. The Maratha force including 16000 horse pursued the Moghals, while other divisions going northwards attacked Iraj Khan and Bajajirao Nimbalkar, who were bringing provisions from Paranda to the Moghal army. The Marathas fell in with the imperialists at Karkamb, looted all their grain and other provisions and drove them far beyond the Bhima. Dilir Khan then in the vicinity of Bijapur sent Iklas Khan to their aid, but he too was enveloped and was forced to take refuge in a walled town. Dilir Khan seeing no hope of success left the vicinity of Bijapur and was soon driven beyond the Bhima with all the Moghal forces.

The war with the Moghals was directed by Shivaji and wholly conducted by the Marathas. Massaud Khan had no resources even to defend the capital and had to depend solely upon Shivaji's aid. The Marathas, having now successfully pushed the Moghals into their territories, wanted to give a crushing blow to the Moghals by attacking Aurangabad and the Godavari valley, the central districts of the Moghal Deccan. Shivaji with his two veteran generals, Moropant and -Hambirrao, crossed the Bhima with a large army and pushing his way through the hills separating the Godavari and the Bhima valleys appeared in the vicinity of Aurangabad, the headquarters of the Moghal viceroy.

He had however taken precaution to leave a large body of Maratha horse in the Bhima region to watch the movements of Dilir Khan. The Marathas scattered over the whole Moghal Deccan, while Shivaji at the head of a body of Mavale soldiers crossed the Ajantha range into Khandesh. He hoped by severing the connection between Aurangabad and Delhi to encircle Prince Muazzim and to give a crushing blow to the Moghal power in the Deccan. He plundered Dharangam and Ghopda and returning into the Godavari valley attacked Jalna. Here outside the skirts of the town a godly saint had his hermitage in a garden. As Shivaji always spared holy men and holy places of all religions, most of the wealthy men of Jalna had taken refuge in that hermitage with their money and jewels. The Marathas, learning the concealment in the saint's abode, entered it and robbed the refugees. Turning westward from Jalna, he came to Sangamner where a Moghal force under Ranmast Khan fell upon him. A drawn battle was fought until darkness fell. Next day Shivaji made a counter attack. The Musalmans fought with great bravery. On the Maratha side Sidoji Nimbalkar, a 5-Hazari general lay dead and Hambirrao fell wounded; on the Moghal side Ranmast Khan was unhorsed and taken prisoner. At last the valour of Shivaji himself turned the drawn fight into a brilliant victory. The Moghal troops were broken and dispersed. But soon after Shivaji received information that another Moghal force under Kesharsing, a grandson of Mirza Raja Jeysing was advancing to cut him off from his possessions. He

advanced northwards in the hills of Baglana and arrived at Putta, strongly fortified by Moropant in a previous campaign. The Moghals in despair fell back on Aurangabad. Shivaji now called Moropant in those hilly regions and ordering him to prosecute the war into Khandesh, he came to the south, probably to Purandhar.

While the Moghal forces were thus being battered in the north, Dilir Khan was rallying his scattered forces and was amassing, in the fertile districts of Paranda, Sholapur and Gulbarga, vast quantities of provisions to re-open the campaign against Bijapur. On 18th August Dilir crossed the Bhima at Dhulkhed, forty miles due north of Bijapur, and opened a new campaign to capture Bijapur. Shivaji was again solicited by Massaud and a Maratha envoy, named Hindu Rao, was sent with a piteous appeal; "The condition of this royalty is not hidden from you. There is no army, money, or ally for defending the fort and no provision at all. The enemy is strong and ever bent on war. You are a hereditary servant, elevated by this court. And, therefore, you will feel for this house more than others can. We cannot defend the Kingdom and its forts without your aid. Be true to your salt and turn towards us. Command what you consider proper, and, it shall be done by us." Shivaji undertook the defence of Bijapur, ordered 10,000 of his cavalry to re-inforce Massaud, sent from his forts 2,000 ox-loads of provisions to the city and bade his subjects to send grain and other necessities to Bijapur for sale, so that soldiers and citizens there might not

suffer scarcity. His envoy, Visaji Nilkanth, reached Massaud with a cheering message, "You hold the fort. I shall go out and punish Dilir Khan as he deserves." Visaji reported to the Adil Shahy regent that 5,000 Maratha troopers had reached Ainapur and 5,000 others Bhupalgad waiting for his call when needed. A small detachment of the Maratha horse under Anandrao arrived at Bijapur and encamped in the western suburb of Navraspur.⁵

Shivaji was now on his way to Panhala to personally direct the campaign against Dilir. But before he reached it, he learnt that his son Sambhaji had deserted to Dilir Khan's camp. Dilir was thrown into transports of joy at the desertion of Shivaji's heir to the throne. "He felt as happy as if he had conquered the whole Deccan." Besides Sambhaji another powerful Maratha chieftain, Nimbalkar of Phaltan, was also serving the Emperor under Dilir. It appears that in 1665 when Shivaji joined the Moghals in an attack on Bijapur territories, he attacked Phaltan as being a possession of an Adil Shahy Jahgirdar Nimbalkar and took the fort of Tathawada. In 1668, when Sholapur was ceded to the Moghals by the Adil Shahy Durbar, Tathawada and other forts were restored to Adil Shaha, eventually to Nimbalkar. Bajaji Nimbalkar was one of the Adil Shahy nobles who wavered in their allegiance to Bijapur and often joined the Moghals. Shivaji, knowing this, had, in 1676 before his expedition into Karnatik, driven out Nimbalkar's men from fortified places and had posted his own garrisons there. During

• 5 Prof. J. Sarkar's Shivaji 416.

the course of this war, Nimbalkar had made common cause with the Moghals and was actually fighting with Bijapur.

The Moghals advanced in two columns, one led by Dilir himself crossed the Bhima at Dhulkhed and the other led by Nimbalkar crossed the Bhima near Pedgaon and laid siege to Akluj. Sambhaji did not hesitate to take an active part against Adil Shah and his father. On his way to Bijapur he advanced to Irdi, where he was opposed by a Bijapuri general, a Maratha named Sabaji Ghatge. The attempt of Nimbalkar to capture Akluj did not succeed; however in October the Imperial army pressed on to Bijapur and arrived at Barotgi, six miles from the city. Meanwhile Shivaji had arrived at Selgur midway between Bijapur and Panhala with a strong army to prevent the fall of Bijapur. Anandrao joined him and the whole Maratha force was divided into two bodies, one under himself and the other under Anandrao. Shivaji ordered his prime minister and Senapati, who were fighting with the Moghals in the north, to go to defend the Adil Shahy capital. They resolved to cut their way through the heart of the Moghal Deccan and to attack Dilir Khan from the north. As they advanced they met some 10,000 Moghal horse, sent to reinforce Dilir. A long running fight took place, in the course of which the Moghal general strove to retire to Aurangabad. But before he could reach that city, he was brought to bay and completely defeated. This victory encouraged Hambirrao and

army blockaded Aurangabad, and Hambirrao and his cavalry established themselves firmly on Dilir Khan's line of communication. Dilir was now completely cut off from any help from Aurangabad. Shivaji was advancing from the west and it was useless to continue the siege of Bijapur. Being hopeless of success he raised the siege on 14th November and marched westward to meet Shivaji; the cause of all his failures in the campaigns in the Deccan where he hoped to achieve immortal glory by the conquest of Maharashtra.

The impetuous Afghan general was now bent upon complete destruction. His march westward is well described in the English Factory Records quoted by Prof. Sarkar at Page 419. "The Moghals were utterly unexpected at Tikotā, where the wealthy men of the neighbourhood had taken refuge. When Ikhlas Khan with the Moghal van arrived there and began to plunder it, the wives of both the Hindus and the Muslims with their children jumped into the wells near their houses and committed suicide. The village was utterly sacked. Nearly 3000 men, both Hindus and Muslims, were taken captives for being sold into slavery. Leaving Tikota on 18th November by way of Honvad and Telsang, ravaging the country and carrying off the people as slaves, the imperialists reached Athni." Here according to the same authority, a breach took place between Sambhaji and Dilir.

Hindus. Shambhaji objected to it, but was overruled and began to grow sick of his associates. Dilir left Athni for Ainaur and on his way learnt that Sambhaji had fled away to Bijapur, with his wife Yesu Bai, disguised in male attire. Dilir promptly returned to Bijapur and sent an agent to that city to bribe the regent to capture the Maratha prince. Sambhaji got scent of the matter, issued in secret from Bijapur, met a body of cavalry sent by his father and galloped away to Panhala, which he reached on 2nd of December”..

Dilir Khan after the vain attempt of re-capturing Sambhaji continued his ravages in the Adil Shahy districts. Seeing that his communication with Aurangabad was completely cut off, he had no hope of capturing the city of Bijapur or of gaining some advantage by waging war in Miraj—Panhala region. He was strongly opposed by the Marathas and could not even reach Miraj. Being beaten everywhere and surrounded by the Maratha forces, he knew not where to go and being desperate waged a cruel war. He plundered Hatnee, crossed the Krishna and began to lay waste Karnatik. Janardanpant, the Maratha governor of the province, with six thousand horse attacked the Moghal party and completely defeating Dilir compelled him to retreat to the north. Even then he did not escape from his difficulties. The whole Moghal force began its retreat northwards. Near the Bhima Hambirrao furiously attacked the rear guard commanded by Dilir in person.

Hambirrao drove the rest in confusion back upon the main army, which after great hardships succeeded in reaching Aurangabad. It is said that the conduct of Dilir Khan at this time not being approved of by Aurangzeb, he was called to the court by the Emperor. Prince Muazzim was also removed from the government of the Deccan and Bahadur Khan was a second time appointed viceroy of the Deccan.⁶

Bijapur had, for the time being, been saved from Delhi. The regent and the nobles celebrated Dilir Khan's defeat by a series of brilliant festivities. They invited Shivaji to be present. He knew that without his aid Bijapur must have fallen; and he was determined to obtain a full cession of all his recent conquests. He therefore demanded as a condition of his acceptance of the invitation that the regent should cede to him the whole line of conquered territory from the Krishna to Tanjore and that Venkoji should no longer be recognised as a fief-holder of Bijapur, but Shivaji. Massaud Khan had no alternative but to comply. He informed Shivaji that on his arrival at Bijapur, a sanad granting all his demands would be handed to him by Shikandar Adil Shah. Upon the receipt of this reply Shivaji went in state to Bijapur. His arrival became a triumphal progress. The populace saw in him the warrior who had saved their beloved city from the clutches of the Moghals.

⁶ Scott Vol. II 53 and Grant Duff Vol. I 293.

The young king, the regent and the courtiers vied with each other in the magnificence with which they entertained their Maratha guests. Shivaji then returned to Panhala to try to bring Sambhaji to the right path.⁷

⁷ Kincaid 267, 268.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE COAST OF MAHARASHTRA.

At the outset of Shivaji's career the coast of Maharashtra was almost occupied by foreign powers—the Siddis as Adil Shahy admirals and the Portuguese. The flatter held Goa in the south and Salsette and Bassein in the north, but they were peaceful traders and did not obstruct Shivaji's progress, as the Siddis of Janjira did. After the occupation of north Konkan by the Marathas about 1670, they with the assistance of the Koli chief of Jawhar tried to hold some Portuguese possessions but were defeated on the sea. On land, however, they approached the landward frontier of the Portuguese in the east and taking several forts on their line attacked Ghodbunder in Salsette. In 1675 after the Maratha power was firmly established in north Konkan, the Marathas passing westward along the Tansa began to fortify opposite the Portuguese town of Saivan (Sibon). This produced some "slender hostilities" but the work went on and the fort was completed. In the following year Shivaji sent a force to Parnera in the south of Surat and repaired and garrisoned the fort.

The Siddis of Janjira were really formidable enemies of the Marathas and obstructed the progress of Shivaji in no small degree. However, their attempts to prevent the peaceful settlement of Konkan under the new

Maratha kingdom proved futile and Shivaji was able to establish his authority on the whole coast from Vengurla to the southern shores of the Bombay harbour except on the island fortress of Janjira. All the attempts of Shivaji to capture Janjira failed and though at one time Fath Khan the Bijapuri governor of the place was willing to cede it to the Marathas, the Siddis by transferring their allegiance to the Moghals prevented its occupation by the people of the land. After the Coronation two attempts in the next two years were made by the Marathas to gain possession of the island fortress. Immediately after the monsoon of 1675, Janjira was besieged by the Marathas with a great force. The neighbouring coast was dotted with outposts and redoubts. The Marathas also built some floating batteries and made an attempt to throw a mole across the sea from the main land to the island. Meanwhile a part of the Siddi fleet sailed down the coast to Vengurla, plundering and burning the villages on the coast. The Maratha squadrons from Vijaydoorg and Rajapur took to sea to seek a fight, but the foreign fleet escaped to Janjira. The siege was pressed by the Marathas, but they had to raise it at the end of the year. The next year the Peshwa Moropant was sent with 10,000 men to co-operate with the fleet and the former siege troops under Venkoji Datto. The siege was renewed with greater vigour. But the attempt failed; Siddi Kasim arrived with the Moghal fleet, broke the line of investment, infused life in the defence, made counter attacks, burnt the floating batteries and forced the Marathas to raise

the siege in December 1676, Janjira was saved "by the blessings of a living saint and Shivaji's men returned disappointed."

Siddi Kasim was a great sailor and for his splendid success was created Admiral of the Imperial navy. Siddi Samboul, the former admiral and governor of Dunda Rajapur, was ordered to hand over the charge to Kasim, but he put off obeying the orders for many months, till the rival admirals came to blows in the Bombay harbour, when through the mediation of the Bombay Council of the British E. I. Company, Kasim was installed as admiral in October 1677. Samboul in disgust transferred his services to Shivaji. Under Siddi Kasim the Moghals gained strength on the Maratha coast and disturbed the peace of the coast towns. He cruised off the coast in the early part of 1678, making frequent landings and kidnapping the people, all of whom he forced to do impure menial services. In April he returned to Bombay to rest during the monsoon and anchored off Mazgaon. The Maratha admirals, Daulat Khan and Darya Sagar, wishing to avenge the depredations and to punish the English for giving shelter to the Moghal fleet, sailed from Panwel. But the monsoon burst earlier than usual and the Maratha fleet was unable to cross the Bombay harbour. Besides, the Portuguese refused to give a passage through their waters and the Marathas were forced to take shelter in the Panwel creek. After the rains in October Daulat Khan again made an attempt to capture Janjira, but failed to take it;

The Siddis in their turn became more cruel and attacked and plundered Shivaji's possessions on the coast of Kolaba.

These encroachments were strongly resented by Shivaji, but he was unable to give a decisive blow to the Siddi power on account of insufficiency of his fleet and the great distance from his naval base at Sindhudoorg. To the north of Janjira there was no port, in possession of Shivaji, which could be well guarded and turned into a new naval base. The coast from Bombay northwards was held by the Portuguese, and every time when the Siddis attacked his Kolaba coast he had to order his fleet to sail from the south past Janjira to defend his possessions. The safe anchorage in the Bombay harbour was known to him and since the Coronation his sailors were active on the southern shores of the harbour in the Panvel and Dharamtar creeks. But this brought him in contact with another European people, more powerful and diplomatic than the Portuguese.

Before 1664, the English had no territorial possessions on the Maratha coast, they only maintained a small factory at Rajapur in Adil Shahy Konkan. In June 1660 while Shivaji was invested in Panhala by the Adil Shahy general, Siddi Johur, some Englishmen at Rajapur sold some grenades to the besiegers and even went to the Bijapur camp outside Panhala to help in the bombardment of the fort. This unofficial assistance, rendered by some English factors, brought on the Company's factory

at Rajapur Shivaji's vengeance in December next, when the Maratha king while attacking Rajapur plundered the English factory and carried off four of the factors as prisoners. They were not released till after more than three years of captivity. Meanwhile, in 1664 the island of Bombay was ceded to the English, who now secured a permanent footing on the coast of Maharashtra.

During the last eight years of Shivaji's life, all the naval engagements between the Siddis and the Marathas took place in the Bombay harbour. The Siddi chief, now Admiral of the Moghals was determined to keep under his control the whole coast from Janjira to Surat. The harbour of Bombay was an excellent half way naval station and Kasim, to plunder and occupy the Kolaba coast of Shivaji with ease, wished to make Bombay a naval base of the Moghals. The Marathas, ever ready to adopt a forward policy having completely secured the coast south of Janjira under the protection of their naval base of Sindhudoorg, were now determined to have a firm footing in the Bombay harbour. Before 1664 the Portuguese were the masters of Bombay and from their fortified stations along the shores of the harbour at Belapur, Sion and Mazgaon they could command the passage to the harbour ; but after Bombay was ceded to the English they had to defend only the approaches to the Thana creek, which they could easily do from Belapur and Kurla. The English being afraid of the progress of the Marathas were eager for an alliance with Shivaji, though in their private correspondence they were ready

to call him "a perfidious rebel." [Prof J. Sarkar 435] The diplomatic negotiations between Shivaji and the English had been opened long before since the capture of the four English factors at Rajapur; and till the death of Shivaji the English continued to press their demands for damages done to them at their various factories and to the four factors of Rajapur who went to Panhala to assist his enemy and "to toss balls" on his person. But Siddi Kassim being too powerful for them, they had often to yield and to allow him to rest his fleets during the monsoons under the protection of the forts of Mazgaon and Sion.

In 1670 Shivaji drove the Moghals from north Konkan and threatened the Portuguese possession of Salsette and Bassein. The English were afraid of the advance of the Marathas and they sent an envoy to him and an alliance was agreed to in which Shivaji promised to respect the English possessions. In 1672 the Siddis of Janjira blockaded the Karanja river and made a fort at its mouth. Nagothna and other places belonging to Shivaji were plundered by them. Nearly every season between 1672 and 1680, sometimes with leave, and sometimes without leave the Siddis with their Moghal fleets came to Bombay to pass the south-west monsoon. In 1674 they scared the people in the Sion fort but they were attacked by the English troops, when an agreement was made that not more than 300 of the Siddi's men were to remain on shore at one time and that none of them was to have any arms

except a sword. But these visits placed the English in an unpleasant dilemma. If they allowed the Siddis to land, they roused the suspicion and anger of Shivaji ; if they forbade the Siddis from landing, they displeased the Moghals.

At the time of the Coronation of Shivaji, an embassy sent by the Bombay Council under Henry Oxinden found him friendly. He granted the English leave to trade to any part of his country on paying an import duty of two and a half per cent ; he allowed them to establish factories at Rajapur, Dabhol, Choul and Kalyan. A promise to pay the compensation for Rajapur loss was also given.

After the failure of the attempt made in Oct. 1678 to burn the Moghal fleet anchored in Bombay harbour, the Marathas largely increased their fleet and in 1679 took possession of the small rocky island of Khanderi at the mouth of the harbour. The island was claimed both by the English and the Portuguese, but it was supposed to have no fresh water. On its capture by Shivaji the English, in co-operation with the Siddis, attempted to turn out the Marathas. The English sent an aged captain, or according to another account a drunk lieutenant, in a small boat to find out what the Marathas meant by landing on the island. The officer was induced to land but he and his men were cut off. An English fleet tried to blockade the approaches of the rock. A skirmish took place, in which many Maratha sailors lost their lives. In spite of this success the Marathas

continued to hold Khanderi. Soon after as a counter movement Siddi Kasim entrenched himself on Undheri rock about two miles to the east of Khanderi. The Marathas tried to drive him from the rock but were unable to do so. The possessions of these islands by enemies or at least doubtful friends imperilled Bombay. But owing to want of funds and the depressed state of trade no attempt was made to recover the islands. Besides the Surat Council advised their Bombay men to avoid interference in all wars between Indian princes. An agreement was accordingly made acquiescing in Shivaji's possession of Khanderi.¹

1. Thana Gazetteer 475-478.

CHAPTER XXVI.

DOMESTIC TROUBLES AND DEATH.

Shivaji had many wives ; the number is not definitely known though Rajwade on the authority of a paper found in a private house at Tanjore says that he had eight wives. His first wife was Sai Bai of the family of Nimbalkar. She, the mother of Sambhaji, died in 1659 two years after the birth of her son. His second wife was the famous Soira Bai, the mother of Rajaram. She was of the family of Shirke and had great influence with her husband and a considerable ascendancy over several of the principal ministers, especially Annaji Datto the Pant Sachiv.

• Perhaps on account of the undue influence of Soira Bai, Sambhaji did not receive a kind treatment at the hands of his father and we may, in a measure, account for the flight of Sambhaji accompanied by his young wife to the Moghal camp. It is also to be noted that Mahadaji Nimbalkar, husband of Sambhaji's sister Sakhubai, had joined the Moghal standard under their general Dilir Khan. Sambhaji was a capricious youth and was endowed with all the fiery and brave qualities of a Maratha and having no maternal control was brought up a crafty and cruel prince. When in full vigour of his youth, he being completely swayed by his young wife preferred the Moghal protection to the parental care. During his stay in the Moghal camp we find him fighting

with the forces of Adil Shah, his father's ally. But being disgusted with the cruel warfare carried on by Dilir Khan, he fled to Panhala. Shivaji, who had just returned from his last expedition in the Godavari valley, went thither to see his son and to dissuade him from the path of unrighteousness in which he was drifting. In a long interview with his son, Shivaji tried to reconcile him but it appears from Sabhasad that his father's proposal, to divide the kingdom between him and Rajaram, was not liked by him and the father had to leave him in disgust. "My son, you should not leave me. Aurangzeb is our enemy, he meant treachery, but by the grace of God you are safe, out of his reach. You are the eldest son and it is just desirable to me that you, now a major, should think of ruling independently. I therefore propose to entrust to you an independent kingdom. I have two sons and propose to divide my dominions between you two. The southern kingdom of Jinji extending from the Toongabhadra to the Kaveri, I give to you; while the northern kingdom, extending from the Toongabhadra to the Godavari, I reserve for Rajaram. Both of you should take charge of your kingdoms and I retire from this busy world to purify my soul". To this proposal of his father Sambhaji gave an evasive answer and saying only that he was willing to serve his father's feet, he turned the topic. Shivaji appealed to him to be a fit ruler of a mighty kingdom extending from the Godavari to the Kaveri and to continue his great work of building the new Maratha power. But the misguided youth, being in no way under the influence of his father

was not satisfied as it is expressly stated by Sabhasad, when he quotes the words of Shivaji uttered by him on his death-bed. Nothing was done during his visit to his son at Panhala and Shivaji left the place for Raigad, allowing Sambhaji to live at Panhala and leaving with him three of his trusted officers—Janardan Narayan, Sonaji Naik Banki and Babaji Dhandere.

At Raigad the marriage of his second son was duly celebrated with all pomp and ceremony. The bride chosen was the daughter of his late Surnobat, Pratap Rao Gujar. Shivaji was a great appreciator of the merits of his officers. He was fully aware of the great victories won by Pratap Rao and keenly felt his loss. He knew that it was for him only that he sacrificed his life and no other reward of greater value could be given to him than to accept his daughter in marriage with his son.

After the celebration of the marriage Shivaji was seized with fever, when he instinctively felt that he would not recover. His last days had been embittered by the follies of his wayward son and the intrigues within his harem. In the course of one year in 1674 at the age of 47, he married three young women, though he had two or three other wives and two sons living. The object of these late marriages is incomprehensible, perhaps the very idea of his being a crowned king might have prompted him to immitate the Muhammadan sovereigns in India. Whatever it may be, he passed his last years in misery and sorrow. His old wife Soira Bai

felt herself neglected and tried all kinds of charms and other means to win back the affection of her husband, he now felt for her young rivals. The question of succession also weighed upon his mind and on his death-bed he felt excruciating pain to think of the dismemberment of his hard-won kingdom. Aurangzeb was bent upon the conquest of the Deccan—the Adil Shاهی kingdom was almost broken and if Sambhaji were to alienate the sympathies of his people, he could not but place before his eyes a gloomy picture of the future. The bitter struggles carried on by Chand Beebee, Mallik Ambar and his father against the Moghals to save the Nizam Shاهی kingdom of Ahmednagar, the tremendous efforts of the nobles of Bijapur and Golconda to arrest the progress of the Moghals, and his own exertions in the cause of the Maratha nation—were all brought to his memory and he felt a painful pang to think of the future. What he felt has been written by Sabhasad in the words of Shivaji himself, who is represented to have on his death-bed, given expression to his own thoughts about the future as if in a prophetic tone.

Seeing that his end was near, Shivaji called together all his officers and advisors to his bed-side and addressed to them thus :—" My end is near, I am going to Kailas, the abode of Gods. My eldest son Sambhaji is residing at Panhala. He was told that the kingdom would be divided between the two sons and was requested that the two should live amicably. But Sambhaji would not agree to the proposal. The time of my end is very

critical. I do not think that my son would protect the kingdom I have won. Sambhaji will grasp the kingdom and will kill respectable Brahmins civil officers and also the Maratha captains in the army. Slaves and youngsters will be powerful, the treasure will be spent up and the kingdom will be lost. Hearing of the vices of Sambhaji, Aurangzeb will march from Delhi and the Moghals will conquer Go'conda and Bijapur and in the end will over-run the kingdom of the Marathas also. Just as Fath Khan son of Mallik Ambar became, after the death of his father, the cause of the ruin of Ahmednagar, so Sambhaji will drag ruin upon my kingdom."

Having given expression to his innermost thoughts in this way, Shivaji asked his courtiers to turn outside to enable him to think of the Eternal Divinity, he was soon going to join. The holy waters of the Ganges were ordered to be brought and "the maker of the Maratha nation" took his last bath with those waters. He then besmeared his body with holy ashes and in perfect meditation carried his soul into the Divinity and left behind the earthly body. His end took place at Raigad at noon on Sunday the 5th of April 1680, the 15th day of Chaitra in the year 1602 of the Shaka Era named Rudra or the Roarer.

The end of Shivaji was attended by dreadful phenomena in nature. There was an earthquake, a comet appeared in the sky, showers of stones fell from the heavens, two rain-bows shone in the sky at night

and the water of the holy lake at Shambu Mahadev turned red and the fish coming out of it a dismal and dreadful appearance was presented.

He left behind an extensive kingdom, a vast treasure 1260 elephants and a powerful army ; the infantry numbering one hundred thousand men with 36 generals and the cavalry numbering one hundred and fifty thousand troopers with 29 generals. Paga or household cavalry numbered 45000, while Shiledars numbered 105,000, Sabhasad, while giving the extent of his kingdom, divides it into two portions—one extending from the fort of Salher and the Godavari to the Toongabhadra in the south including Konkan ; and the other from the Toongabhadra to the Kaveri including Kolar, Balapur, Vellore, Jinji and their dependencies.

CHAPTER XXVII.

ADMINISTRATION.

The history of Shivaji's military exploits only presents to our view one side of the working of his master mind, and we are apt to forget that he had other and stronger claims upon our attention as a civil ruler. Shivaji was a great organiser and builder of civil institutions which conduced largely to the success of the movement initiated by him, and which alone enabled Maharashtra to pass unscathed through the dangers which overwhelmed the country shortly after his death and helped it to assert its claim to national independence, after a twenty years' struggle with the whole power of the Moghal Empire. These civil institutions deserve special study, because they display an originality and breadth of conception which he could not have derived from the systems of government then prevalent under Muhammadan or Hindu rule. He strove to secure the freedom of the people of Maharashtra and unite them into one nation, powerful for self-defence and self-assertion. This he did as much by his military exploits as by his excellent civil administration. The recognition of his Swarajya in the Deccan by the Moghals and the Sultans of Bijapur and Golconda was his noblest achievement in the early days of his career. But the civil institutions founded by him in his Swarajya mark him out as the greatest statesman among the Hindus in

the last 700 years since the Muhammadans began to invade India.

His extensive kingdom covered great portions of Maharashtra, Karnatak and Dravid. All the territories in Maharashtra proper from Khandesh to Belgaon, held under his direct sway, were divided into seven Prants or Districts. The names of all these Prants and the forts garrisoned by his brave followers to guard them are given in the Chitnis Bukhar. They are (1) Prant Maval, corresponding to the present Poona district including the state of Bhor now held by the Pant Sachiv and guarded by eighteen hill forts including Lohgad, Purandhar, Singhgad and Rajgad : (2) Prant Wai, the whole of the upper Krishna valley corresponding to the north-western portion of the Satara district and garrisoned by eleven forts including Satara, Parali, Nandgiri, Chandan and Pandavgad : (3) Prant Karad, corresponding with the southern portion of the Satara district : (4) Prant Panhala or the Kolhapur region guarded by thirteen forts including Panhala, Vishalgad and Khailna : (5) Prant Konkan extending from the Portuguese possessions of Goa to Kolwan in the north ; it consisted of two divisions—south Konkan, corresponding with Ratnagiri and guarded by many hill-forts and sea-fortresses, and north Konkan or the district of Kalyan guarded by Mahuli and other forts : (6) Prant Trimbak, or the upper valley of the Godavari extending from Trimbak in the west to Tankai in the east, from Igatpuri to Manmad, guarded on the north by the Chandor range with twenty-

two forts including Chandvad or Chandravati : (7) Prant Baglana, extending beyond the Chandor range as far north as the Tapi and guarded by forts including Salher, Mulher and Dhodap. Besides these Prants, twelve thanas—civil stations—of 1 Kalyan, 2 Bhiwandi, 3 Chakan, 4 Supe, 5 Baramati, 6 Shirwal, 7 Wai, 8 Karad, 9 Khatav, 10 Miraj, 11 Tasgaon and 12 Karwir have been separately referred to, which perhaps means that they were not wholly subject to the Prant-jurisdiction and had their own special municipal organizations under the supervision of the Subhedar or the Prant-officer. The southern half of Shivaji's kingdom, being his possessions in Karnatik and Dravid, was divided into five more Prants. (8) Prant Phonde-Bednur, roughly corresponding with the present Karwar and Canara districts and guarded by numerous forts including Phonda, Manglore, Kadvad, Ankole, Shiveshwar and others : (9) Prant Wanagad, corresponding with the districts of Dharwar in Bombay and Koppal in Hyderabad and guarded by twenty-two forts including Nandgad, Koppal and Bahadurbinda : Prants (10) Kolar-Balapur and (11) Shrirangapattan, covering the present Mysore state and guarded by numerous forts including Birur, Kolar, Nandigad and others : (12) Prant Vellore, modern Arcot districts with twenty-five forts. These twelve Prants covering an extensive territory formed his kingdom ; besides he had secured sovereignty over the districts in the Kaveri plain given to Venkoji and over his father's original state of Tanjore also.

The Marathi chronicles make mention of some two hundred and eighty forts in Shivaji's occupation. In one sense it might be said that the hill-fort, with the territory commanded by it, was the unit of Shivaji's civil government. The military exploits, which made these forts so famous as points of resistance against attacks or centres of aggression, formed the chief interest of the early Maratha wars. Shivaji's possessions, extending along the line of the Western Ghats from Baglana to Bednur and from Kolhapur across the Kanarese country to far off Tanjore, were knit together by a chain of hill-forts, which were places of shelter of the Marathas in days of adversity. Shivaji's arrangements about the garrisoning and provisioning of these forts were of the most elaborate kind. Each fort was under a Maratha Havaldar, who had under him other assistants in charge of different lines of fortification. The hill-sides were carefully protected and at each place of vantage Chowkidars were posted and minute directions were given as to the way in which watch and ward duties were to be performed day and night. The charge of the forests below the forts was entrusted to the Ramoshis and other lower classes of the population. The Havaldar, often spoken as Killedar, had the military charge of the garrison. He was assisted by a Subhedar and a Karkhanis. The Subhedar had the civil and revenue charge and this charge included villages or even Mahals commanded by the fort. The Karkhanis was in charge of grain and fodder and of military stores. In most cases in the settled part of the country the fort was the head quarters

of a Mahal and the Subhedar of one was also the Subhedar of the other.

The foundation of Shivaji's power was his army. This army regulations were also unique and wise. The differentiation of civil and military departments was not then as complete as in the present times, and the wise regulations in all his military institutions substantially affected his civil government. A brief description of the same is therefore necessary to present in full force the administrative genius which Shivaji displayed in his government of the country. Infantry was the main stay of his power and cavalry at least during the early part of his career had not spread the terror of the Maratha name in the Imperial dominions. His infantry was raised in the deep valleys of the Sahyadri or Konkan, those of the hills were called Mawales and others were known as Hetakaris. These men brought their own arms and were only furnished with ammunition by government. Their dress, though not uniform, was generally a pair of short trousers coming half-way down the thigh, a strong narrow band of considerable length tightly girt round the loins, a turban and a cotton frock. Most of them wore a cloth round their waist. The common arms of a soldier were a sword, a shield and a matchlock. Some of the Hetakaris, especially the infantry of Savantwadi, used a species of firelock; the invention of the lock for the flint having been early received from the Portuguese. Every tenth man, instead of firearms, carried a bow and arrows, which were useful in night attacks and surprises,

when the firearms were kept in reserve or prohibited. The Hetakaris excelled as marksmen, but they could seldom be brought to desperate attacks, sword in hand, for which Mavales of the hills were celebrated. Both of them possessed an extraordinary facility of climbing and could mount a precipice or scale a rock with ease, where men of other countries must have run great risk of being dashed to pieces. Every ten men had an officer called a Naik and every fifty a Havaldar. The officer over a hundred was termed Joomladar and the commander of a thousand was styled *Ek-Hazari*. There were also officers of five thousand named *Pach-Hazari*, and between these and the Surnobat or the commander-in-chief there was no intermediate gradation. The occupation of the hill-forts gave Shivaji a hold on the country and the garrison of each fort was, besides other civil and commissariat officers, chiefly composed of the common infantry. The garrisons varied in numbers according to the size and importance of the forts.

The Maratha cavalry were of two kinds—Bargeers and Shiledars. The Muhammadan sovereigns of the Deccan engaged the services of the Maratha Bargeers, but as the importance of the Marathas increased in all the Deccan courts, rich Marathas with a fixed number of followers fully armed and equipped and furnished with their own horses, joined the Muhammadan generals not regularly as servants but as auxiliaries to assist their

masters in the course of a campaign opened by them. For the services rendered these Maratha Shiledars were highly rewarded if the campaign was a success. During the disturbances caused by the Moghal invasion of the Deccan these powerful Shiledars dictated their own terms of service and were often indispensable if the employer desired success. Even the Moghals, with their numerous hordes of Pathans and Rajputs, found it necessary, to subjugate the Deccanis, to engage the services of powerful Maratha chiefs and Shiledars. Shivaji also engaged, at the outset, some of these Shiledars to bring his operations to a successful issue; but he soon saw that it was quite necessary to manage and overawe them and to mount them on horses, the property of the state. The new cavalry, which he organised, was termed Paga or household troops. He procured horses of his own and in many cases purchased the horses of his Shiledars, thus "securing their continuance in his service." Shivaji always placed more dependence on them than on Shiledars.

Shivaji's Paga or household cavalry was as organised as his infantry. Over every twenty-five horsemen, he had a Havalidar. To one hundred and twenty-five there was a Joomladar and to every five Joomlas, or six hundred and twenty-five, he had a Subhedar. To the command of every ten Subhas or six thousand two hundred and fifty horse, which were only rated at five thousand, there was a commander, styled Pach-Hazari, with whom were stationed a Mazindar, an auditor of

accounts, and an Ameen, a registrar and accountant. Every Subhā of six hundred and twenty-five horse had also its accountant and auditor, who were invariably Brahmins or Prabhus. Shivaji selected for the posts of Subhedars and Pach-Hazaris, Marathas of high birth, who had been renewed for deeds of valour. There was no officer superior to the commander of five thousand except the Surnobat or the commander-in-chief. Under Shivaji in the early days there was one Surnobat for cavalry and another for infantry. Later on the two offices were given to one man dignified with the proud title of Senapati. Besides the Paga cavalry Shivaji engaged the services of Shiledars, but he took care to select them from among the high families of Maharashtra. They were styled Shiledars, Mankaris, and were highly respected in the government; though Shivaji enforced them to be under the command of the Surnobat.

Shivaji's discipline, which required prompt obedience to superiors in every situation was particularly strict in his army. At the commencement of his career, he personally inspected every man who offered himself and obtained security from some persons already in his service for the fidelity and good conduct of those, with whom he was not acquainted. This system of security made almost every man answerable for some of his comrades and although, it could not have been in most

instances but a mere form, owing to the facility with which the responsibility could be evaded, it was always a part of Shivaji's instructions to his officers. Previous to his departure on a campaign, Shivaji ordered a general muster and review of his troops every year on the tenth day of the month of Ashwin, which falls at the end of the monsoon. A similar practice was followed by all his generals, when they were ordered to march on a campaign. At this time each soldier was carefully examined and an inventory and valuation of his effects were taken in order to prevent him from bringing plunder on his own account, everything captured during a campaign being required to be brought to the account before the officers. Strict injunctions were issued to all soldiers that no cows, women or cultivators were to be molested or made prisoners. No soldier in Shivaji's service was permitted to carry any female follower with him in the field on pain of death. His system of intelligence was the greatest check on every abuse as well as embezzlement, and his punishments were rigorous. Officers and men, who had distinguished themselves, and who were wounded or had suffered in any way, were always gratified by promotion, honour or compensation. Shivaji did not approve of the Jahgeer system and he never bestowed military Jahgeers, though Inam lands were granted by him in reward of merit or as a free gift to Brahmins in conformity with the tenets of his faith. On return from a campaign every officer was required to produce his accounts, which were closed annually before the commencement of a new campaign and balances due by

government were either paid in ready money or by bills on the Collectors of Revenue in favour of the officers, but never by separate orders on villages.²

During eight months in the year generally the armies of Shivaji were taken abroad on distant campaigns for the subjugation of the enemy. While in campaigns the men were under strict discipline and severe punishments were dealt in case of breach of discipline. Notwithstanding the strict restraints there was no difficulty found about the enlistment of recruits in the army, and no service was more popular and honourable than that which led the Mavales, and Hetakarīs of Konkan and the Shiledars and Bargeers of the Maharashtra uplands to flock in numbers to the national standard of Shivaji. During the monsoon the household Paga of Shivaji was cantoned in camps selected in different Mahals of the kingdom for the supply of fodder and other facilities and under the protection of some fort. The civil officers, Mahalkaris and Subhedars, had orders to look to their requirements and to supply provisions to the extent of the amount sanctioned by the central authorities. Besides, there were appointed persons to whom rent-free lands were hereditarily assigned to collect and stack the grass of the preceding season and to store grain for the soldiers.³

2. Grant Duff I 230-231.

3. Chitnis Bukhar 67.

As soon as Shivaji got permanent possession of any territory every species of military contribution was stopped, all farming of revenue ceased and the collections were made by agents appointed by the government. The method of paying military and civil servants by permanent assignments on portions of the revenue of the villages was objected by Shivaji, not only from fear of immediate oppression to the Rayats but from apprehending that it would ultimately cause such a division of authority as must weaken his government and encourage the village and district authorities to resist it as they frequently did that of Bijapur. With this view he destroyed all village walls and allowed no fortifications in his territory which were not occupied by his troops. Religious establishments in the newly conquered districts were carefully preserved and temples for which no provision existed had some adequate assignments granted to them. Shivaji never sequestrated any allowance fixed by the Muhammadan government for the support of tombs, Mosques or Dargas, places of commemoration in honour of Muhammadan saints.

On the acquisition of a new Mahal or district, a *Karkun* or Settlement Officer should be sent to make detailed investigations. The *Karkun* must be a competent officer having experience of the *Huzur Daftar* or State Records. One should be appointed to the *Havela* or charge of a province as *Havaladar* or High Commissioner; and another should be entrusted with the *Majamu*, or revenue arrangement of the province being

made *Majamudar*, or Revenue Officer. The permanent civil establishment of a district, made up of one or more Mahals; according to its size, consisted of a Subhedar and a Majamudar and a set of other subordinate officers—*Chitnis* or Correspondence Clerk, *Phadnis* or Treasurer and *Daftardar* or Record-keeper. A Subhedar should have the honour of keeping a palanquin, while a Majamudar should be honoured with an *abdagir* or a large state fan only. Every district should be provided with bodies of horse and infantry according to the importance and the necessity of its defences. The forts in the district being regularly garrisoned were very useful to maintain peace.

The Subhedar was the *chief* civil officer in the Prant, having full charge of revenue administration and superintending the judicial organization in his district. The judicial system in the Maratha country was, in all civil cases, that of *Panchayat* or arbitration board which had invariably obtained in the country. The work of civil courts was then not of much importance and when disputes arose, the parties were referred by the Subhedar to the Panch of the villages, or in important cases to those of other villages; and the Subhedar only enforced their decisions.

Shivaji's revenue arrangements were founded on those of Dadaji Kondadev. Every Prant was divided into Mahals, which were left in charge of Talukdars or Mahalkaris. Under the Talukdars were a number of *Kamavisdars*, each of whom was in charge of a group of

villages to assess and make the direct collection of the revenue. Shivaji never permitted the Deshmukhs of the Deshpandes to interfere in the revenue management of the country, nor did he allow them to collect their dues until they had been ascertained, when an order was annually given for the amount. The Patels and the Kulkarnis were strictly superintended and were required to account for all collection in the village. The system of cash payment and direct revenue management was introduced and extended by Shivaji throughout his dominions. It was his conviction that much of the disorder in old times was due to the entrusting of revenue duties to the Deshmukhs and Deshpandes, who almost like the Jahgeer holders collected more from the Rayats and paid less into the state treasury than was strictly due, and used their opportunities to create disturbances and to resist the orders of the provincial officer i. e. the *Amildar* or the Central government. Shivaji was fully aware that, in the latter days of the Adil Shahy and Nizam Shahy governments, whole Mahals were entrusted to Deshmukhs and Deshpandes, while the government Amildars or Turufdars passed their time in festivities and idle enjoyments.

These principles have been well described by Sabhasad at page 26—"The rayats are not under the control of Jamidars, Deshmukhs and Desais, who cannot exercise *Sahebi* or government authority but only extort money from them. Under Nizam Shahy, Adil Shahy and Moghalai the rayats were brought under the

authority of Pate's, Deshmukhs and Kulkarnis of the land. They collected the revenue and paid fixed sums to the state. In a village where 1,000 or 2,000 were collected by these Mirasdars, they gave to the state only 200 or 300. Therefore these Mirasdars,⁴ becoming moneyed men, built palaces and fortifications, engaged soldiers and became powerful. The government was defied, and when more was demanded they resisted the demand and becoming rebellious they usurped the land. King Shivaji suppressed them all and pulled down their palaces and fortifications. Wherever there was a fortified place, he posted his own garrison, and no Mirasdar was kept in possession of them. Shivaji having confiscated all the dues imposed by the Mirasdars in various ways in the form of *Inam* or *Ijarati* grants, fixed the amount of corn and cash payable to them by the villagers. No deductions on the revenues to be collected were allowed without express orders of the Finance Minister, Pant Amatya. Besides all the Deshmukhs, Jamidars and other Mirasdars were strictly required not to build fortified mansions but were to live in ordinary houses."

Shivaji engaged the services of paid men—Kamavisdars, Mahalkaris and Subhedars—for the duties of

4. The word Mirasdar has some bad meaning attached to it in Marathi. It means a person who has usurped authority not properly belonging to him. However, the "Miras" right of a Maratha farmer to his land is the most desirable thing in the world. The land in Maharashtra does not belong to Zamindars but to the farmers, however petty their holdings may be. Perhaps, Malik Ambar introduced this Miras tenure of peasant proprietorship or more probably revived it to strengthen his government.

collecting the revenue. The fields were carefully measured out and entered in books in the name of the holders thereof. It was the Kamavisdar's duty to levy and fix, while the crops were still standing, cash payments according to the current prices of corn and other produce. The annual *Kabulayats* or *Kabalpattas*, engagements to pay, were then taken from the holders for the payments due. The gross produce per Bigha being calculated, the proportion between the rayat's share and the share of the Government was fixed at three-fifths to the rayat and two-fifths to the Government. The Kamavisdar was assisted in his work by the Patels and Kulkarnis of villages and even the Panch had their say in the settlement of the revenue.⁵ The Mahalkaris, after the crops were gathered, collected the revenue with the assistance of Patels and Kulkarnis and sent the collection to the state treasury, in charge of the chief civil officer, the Subhedar of the province. The Subhedar was responsible for all the collections and had to submit them to the *Huzur* or State Secretary, viz, the Phadnis, acting as Secretary to *Pant Amatya* or Finance Minister. No payment either to civil or military officers was to be made by him without an express sanction from the Phadnis.

The military exploits of Shivaji and the foundation and creation of an independent sovereign kingdom of the people of Maharashtra, who had been known for generations for their rowdy character and the chief

among whom were all warring with each other as the Rajputs of the north, are in themselves splendid achievements of Shivaji, for which the Marathas are justly proud. The system of land revenue, which was the chief source of income of a state in India, as constituted by Shivaji under the influence of his Brahmin advisers and ministers entitles him to be considered as the greatest statesman ever produced by the Maratha nation. But the practical genius of Shivaji is seen, in its brightest colours, in his creation of a constitutional central government based on the principles of national unity and national welfare. At a time when governments in India—Muhammadan or Hindu—were all despotic and capable of existence till only the military strength of the rulers who founded them continued in full vigour, Shivaji by his gifted genius created a sound machinery of civil government, which may stand comparison with any popular government of the time in which he lived. The men whom he chose as ministers were, though his nominees, not his creatures but were true leaders of the Maratha nation enjoying full confidence of the people in Maharashtra of all castes and ranks.

The Board of Administration or the cabinet, which Shivaji created, consisted of *Ashla Pradhans* or eight ministers, at the head of the board being the *Mukhya Pradhan* or Prime Minister. The names of all the ministers were Persian at the time when Shivaji organised his cabinet system in the early part of his career. But after his Coronation in 1674 these names were changed

into Sanskrit. The *Mukhya Pradhan* was the Prime Minister next to the King and was at the head of civil and military administration and sat first on the right hand below the throne. The *Senapati* was in exclusive charge of the military administration and sat first on the left side. In the early part of his career there were two *Surnobals* or Commanders, one in charge of infantry and the other in charge of cavalry. *Pant Amatya* and *Pant Sachiv* sat next to the *Mukhya Pradhan* and had respectively the charge of the office of the Finance Minister, and the General Auditor and Record Keeper. These two ministers were next to the Prime Minister, the highest civil officers and superintended the revenue administration of the whole kingdom. The accounts of all Prants and Mahals had to be sent to these ministers and were there to be collated together and irregularities detected and punished. These ministers had power to depute *Sahebi Karkuns* or men on their establishments to supervise the working of the Prant and Mahal officers. The *Mantri* sat next below the *Sachiv* and, being in charge of the King's private affairs, was required to keep a diary of all the acts of the king, to receive visits on his behalf and to arrange for all state ceremonies. The *Sumant* was Minister for foreign affairs and sat below the *Senapati* on the left. Next came *Panditrao* who had charge of the ecclesiastical department and was the expounder of Hindu law and Shastras, and below him on the left sat *Nyayadhisha* or Chief Justice. The six ministers (except *Panditrao* and *Nyayadhisha*),—*Pradhan Amatya*, *Sachiv*, *Mantri*, *Senapati* and *Sumant*—wer

respectively known in Persian as Peshwa, Majamudar, Soornis, Vaknis, Surnobat and Dabir. All these ministers were direct servants of the crown and as such were required to obey the royal orders. The ideas of democratic and responsible governments were then unknown to the people of India, but Shivaji had no intention of being a despotic ruler. All royal letters had to bear the seals of the King and of the Prime Minister. Besides other four Ministers—Amatya, Sachiv, Mantri and Sumant—were required to put, on all royal letters and other state documents, their endorsements signifying their consent.⁶ Letters of Oxinden, the envoy of the English company at the court of Shivaji, imply that all the ministers endorsed Shivaji's treaty with the English.⁷ They were, however, all servants of the state and did not enjoy any privileges nor had claims against the revenues of the state. Their salaries were liberally fixed in consideration of their high services. The Mukhya Pradhan received fifteen thousand hons per year or Rs. 4,500 per month. The Amatya received 12,000 hons a year, while other ministers were paid at 10,000 hons each.

The ministers at the head of these civil situations, except the Panditrao and Nyayadhisha, held military commands and frequently were called upon to undertake distant campaigns, when their duties were performed by their *Karbharis* or Secretaries. These Secretaries had frequently the power to annex the seal or mark of their masters on

⁶ Chitnis 126.
⁷ Prof. J. Sarkar 465.

public documents, and when so empowered they were called *Mootaliks* or Deputies. Besides these ministers there were two General Secretaries—the *Phadnis* and the *Chitnis*—whose position, though subordinate to that of the ministers, was a highly respectable one. They were personally attached to the king, though they were required to discharge their duties in obedience to the orders issued by the ministers and were in fact intermediary officers between the king and the ministers. The *Chitnis* had to write all the state despatches, including those to be sent to foreign courts and *Sannads* and other Title Deeds passed in favour of private individuals. He was also in charge of State-records, despatches received and copies of letters, despatches etc. sent out. The *Phadnis* acted as Secretary to the *Amatya* and was in charge of all home departments, exercising full control over them and all officers in the *Prants* and *Mahals* of the Kingdom. All state papers, in connection with the *Jamabandi* or the revenue settlement of *Mahals*, decrees passed by *Subhedars* and *Mahalkaris* and other communications with the provincial officials, were all to be recorded by the *Phadnis*. All heads of departments, all provincial officers and even officers in charge of forts and other stations were required to submit annually to the *Phadnis*, statements of receipts and expenditure of all moneys they received and disbursed on behalf of the government.

The financial arrangements of Shivaji's kingdom were based on very sound principles and the perfection to

which they had attained shows the superior inborn genius of the founder of the Maratha nation. Pant Amatya was the finance minister and he was assisted by a general secretary, the Phadnis. The Phadnis exercised general control over all departments, including the army department also, in all financial affairs. All receipts of state dues were to be entered in the *Phadnishi* accounts and no disbursement of public money was allowed without the sanction of the Phadnis and the Pant Amatya. Salaries of Surnobats, Majamudars, Karkuns and officers of the state, civil and military, were to be paid by Treasury orders. If any held lands, their assessment was deducted from their dues and only balances were paid to them. Every year the accounts of each office were properly checked and settled. Payments to be made to the subordinate establishments of officers, civil and military, and other payments to them were to be made from the state treasury only and by officers known by the general name of Paymaster or *Subnis* wholly responsible to the Phadnis. In all provinces no one had authority to make payments, except the Sahebi Karkuns or state officers directly under the Phadnis.⁸

The fact that Shivaji created a nation can be safely asserted from the manner in which he managed the affairs of the state through his ministers. No doubt he dictated his own policy, but he always paid a due deference to the views of his ministers and generals. All the chroniclers pay a respectful tribute to Shivaji for collecting round

him persons of great ability from all the classes of Maharashtra. He honoured them all and the chroniclers proudly mention the names of all Civil Officers, famous Generals, distinguished Sardars and brave Admirals. Chitnis [pages 115-116] refers to forty-four Civil Officers, seventy-six renowned Sardars, fifty-seven Captains in the Mavale infantry and three great Admirals.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

CHARACTER.

The nature of the long struggle carried on by Shivaji against the Moghals cannot be well understood, unless the change, to be brought about by the Moghal occupation of the Deccan, is properly comprehended. Since 1600 the freedom of the Deccan and the Muslim Sultans of Ahmednagar and Bijapur was threatened and the common people in this part of India dreaded the absorption of the country in the Moghal Empire. Among these common people Shivaji was very popular and towards the close of his career, the Muhammadans of Golconda and Bijapur looked up to him as protector of their freedom. Not only the freedom of the people in the Deccan, both Hindus and Muhammadans, was in danger but even the splendid popular organizations of the Deccan were threatened with ruin by the Moghal invasion.

No Empire comes into existence or prolongs its existence without creating a strong aristocratic body, bound together by motives of extraordinary gains which keep their superiority and strength over other subject ~~people~~—a powerful body of courtiers, with combined resources and strength far more substantial than those of the ordinary people. The Moghals had reared such a class and the powerful ~~Mansab~~ ~~dars~~ of the Court held

extensive Jahgeers in different parts of the Empire and very lucrative posts at the court. The Rajputs also formed a great aristocracy, almost sworn to support the Emperor with their numerous brave followers. They were really hired soldiers, but serving as they did under the flag of their tribal chiefs they fought the Moghal wars with extraordinary zeal. Their matrimonial alliances with the Imperial family materially helped to keep a closer union between them and the Moghals.

Whatever were the drawbacks of the Sultans of the Deccan, they were not Imperial in their views and considered themselves as wholly one with the people; their rule was in no way different from the Swarajya of Shivaji. They did not depend upon any aristocracy or hired soldiery for their existence but were popular kings and had the first care for the welfare of their common subjects. The machinery of government was thoroughly national and popular institutions were firmly rooted in the social organization of the Deccan. No distinction was observed by the state and its high officials between the Hindus and the Muhammadans. A united political society existed in the Deccan and hence the people continuously fought against the Moghals for over 80 years during the course of not less than four generations.

Maintenance of peace, administration of justice and the collection of land revenue, coupled with the preservation of rights and privileges of the common people in the lands and tenements, the only property

in the kingdom in those days—were all in the hands of the people. Their voice was as substantial as the voice of a people heard in the national assembly of a popular government. The village organization was a democratic reality and no elaborate machinery was required to be maintained for the preservation of peace, administration of justice or the collection of the land tax. The village institutions were working with full vigour and no power was there to deprive any person of his rights and privileges, however humble he may be. Jahgirdars, having proprietary rights in extensive areas, are unknown in Maharashtra; while faithful public service was rewarded by grants of Inam rights or alienation of government dues, in no way interfering with the rights and privileges of the rayats.

The great work, that Shivaji and the Maratha nation did to determine the course of the history of India, has not been properly appreciated; and the poor hardy and chivalrous people of Maharashtra have been branded with the vices of cunning and craftiness, faithlessness and dishonesty, disregard for human beings and institutions as shown by their plundering raids, and the blunt audacity shown in opposing the Moghals of the north and in defying all. It is true that while the Rajputs and the Bengalees, the Punjabis and the Biharis, were enjoying peace and prosperity under the Moghals and were loyally and faithfully serving them, the Marathas under their popular leader Shivaji were organising an effective check to the progress of the Moghals in the

south. It is also true that no war is justifiable unless there is a clear necessity for it. But it was a different thing if the Moghal rule had been based on some principles of public good, rule of law and sure realization of the 'state of man.' The very rise of Aurangzeb, on the ruin of his father and brothers showed that it was a personal Empire and there was no knowing of what Aurangzeb and his servants would have done, if successful in reducing all the Deccan monarchies, himself being a despot and a staunch bigotted Muhammadan. Hence there was a clear necessity for Shivaji to defend his country. At a time when governments grew and lived by war, the poor people of Maharashtra would have utterly been ruined by being absorbed in the Moghal Empire. The Rajputs and other peoples of the north enjoyed a sort of equality with the Moghal rulers; but that equality would have been denied to the Marathas of Maharashtra, where, the poorest peasant claiming equality with the headman of a village or with a provincial Deshmukh or Deshpande, there were no marked grades in the social body of the people.

The rise of Shivaji or Shahaji is not an event disconnected with the general course of the history of Maharashtra. The Marathas, even before the rise of Shivaji, were a very powerful people. Shivaji made a nation not in the sense that he created a power to withstand the Moghals, but by making a united nation of the people of Maharashtra. The administrative reforms, particularly those in connection

with village and district organization which Shivaji made, have never died out and those very reforms have been developed and refined by the present government ; and it can be said that Maharashtra as a nation, as made by Shivaji, has continued to live to the present time. If we carefully read the life of Shivaji, we see that through all his successive wars and campaigns and through all his reforms, there is an unmistakable continuity, which shows that he was building a real Maratha nation.

Three points mark out the peculiar features of Shivaji's activities. First, Shivaji was not a superhuman man who created a nation, by his own genius, capable of existence during his life time only. He organized an effective check to the Moghal power, and in doing it he represented the general opinion of the Maratha nation That the Marathas were unwilling to accept the Moghal rule without a struggle, is a fact which is clearly put forth in the first portion of the book. The great achievement which Shivaji made was to unite together the whole nation by subjugating or conciliating the Maratha chiefs, who, on account of the weakness of the Nizam Shahy and Adil Shahy courts, were becoming turbulent and predatory. He gained the active support of many civil officers trained under Malik Ambar at the Ahmednagar court, and with their aid an organized state was formed, based on sound principles of government ~~fully~~ ensuring security of life and property.

Secondly, he did not try to create an orthodox Hindu Swarajya. He successfully carried out the work

begun by Chand Bæbee and continued by Malik Ambar and his father Shahaji. The factious wars at Bijapur and acceptance of Moghal service by some powerful nobles of Ahmednagar, Bijapur and Golconda, reduced the number of Deccany Muhammadans trying to maintain an independent court in the south. The Muslim brothers could easily be won over by the Moghals under Aurangzeb, and so the field being left open to the Marathas, Shivaji took full advantage of it. The poets and saints preached a religion of devotion to the people of Maharashtra, but they never tried to create an orthodox Hindu Swarajya. In those days in almost every part of India there were saints and great devotees of incarnations of Vishnu, the highest Hindu God, who preached a religion of love and devotion. Hinduism was then passing through a stage in which devotion to a personal God and love of beings shown in absolute surrender to pious preceptors, who renouncing all family ties preached equality and fraternity, and there was no scope to the revival of orthodoxy in Hinduism. If the extent of this new preaching is to be judged by the number of saints who sang, in current languages, their faith in Divine Unity, Maharashtra cannot be better than any other province of India. And therefore the rise of the Maratha power under Shivaji cannot be attributed to the work of saints, who themselves renouncing the world preached a religion of love and devotion. That movement, which produced men like Chaitanya, Ramananda, Kabir and Baba Nanak, was in itself incapable of the Swarajya movement of Shivaji. Again

it is argued by some that in Maharashtra at least one of the saints, Ramdas went a little way off from the trodden path of saints and preached ideas of Swarajya. Ramdas with a view to speak of the duties of men in different positions in the society wrote about the duties of kings and ministers, but he simply followed the practice of the writers of *Smritis* of old. Ramdas was, for the last portion of his life, the spiritual guide of Shivaji but it cannot be said that the establishment of Swarajya by Shivaji was due to his teaching. At times Shivaji attended his religious sermons, but in state affairs, he wholly relied on the advice of his generals and other civil officers as Pratap Rao Gujar, Hansaji Mohite, Moropant Pingale, Annaji Datto, Raghunath Narayan, Yesaji Kank, Netaji Palkar and others. Even supposing that Shivaji's first interview with Ramdas took place in the early part of his life, none can say that Shivaji determined the course of his activities on the advice of Ramdas. At Poona he was placed in such circumstances and was surrounded by persons of such views that he was forced to adopt the line of conduct which led him to think of Swarajya. It is certainly beyond comprehension to see how Shivaji alone with the aid of mere advice by a man leading a life of renunciation could establish his power, which in fact was the result of active agencies affecting the condition of Maharashtra during at least 150 years previous to the rise of Shivaji. Even the Coronation of 1674 was first felt a political necessity by the generals and ministers of Shivaji, and then to sanctify it Jagabhat, making use of fictitious

ceremonies, performed the coronation according to the old Vedic rites. The Brahmin ministers, fully sensible of the political necessity, took conspicuous parts in the ritual and poured the holy waters of the sacred rivers of India on their king, whom they considered as their guide in the task dearest to their inmost heart.

Thirdly, Shivaji succeeded, not because he was a crafty statesman, a rebel who had no scruple of employing any means to gain his object, but because in him were embodied the wishes and aspirations of the people of the Deccan, both Hindus and Muhammadans. The life of Shivaji is not the life of a man, who cherishing some views tries to impose them upon the credulous people. His activities were not a revolt against the established authority, and hence the strong support which he received from the best soldiers and the most capable statesmen of the day. He was the greatest opportunist to take advantage of the political situation of the Deccan that was changing almost every day, and to curb the jarring elements, that were brought into being on account of the distracted condition of the time. Two events disturbed the peace of Maharashtra and made the people assert their influence in controlling and determining their own destiny. The arrival of Europeans in Indian waters severed the connection of the Bahamani court of Bidar and Gulbarga with Persia and Arabia, and the influx of wise and influential Musalmans from abroad being stopped, opportunity was given to the Marathas—Brahmins and Kshatriyas—to gain influence

at the Deccany courts. But a greater calamity fell upon Maharashtra, when the Moghals threatened her independence. For almost forty years, the Muhammadan and Maratha nobles of Ahmednagar struggled hard for their existence as a separate free nation, and were only crushed partly by the aid given by the Marathas, chiefly Jadhavs, to the Moghals and partly by the cession of a portion of Ahmednagar territories to the Sultan of Bijapur. Bijapur was then threatened by the Moghals and the activities of Shivaji were synchronous with the struggles of Bijapur for independence. The pious Moghal, the bigotted Aurangzeb, could win some Muhammadan nobles to his side and such constant defections weakened the Adil Shahy court, who then had to depend more upon the Maratha nobles—Nimbalkar, Ghatage, Ghorpade, Savant and More—who had grown into turbulent tributary princes. Shahaji was a powerful noble and under his regency Bijapur might have been saved. But he was sent away into the Karnatik, and the history of the court of Bijapur is a long painful narrative of plots and counter-plots among the nobles to gain ascendancy. The Maratha chiefs, being given opportunities to assist the struggling nobles, became themselves very turbulent. Shahaji and his able advisers, all administrators and generals of Ahmednagar, had tried to gather the distracted elements of Maharashtra and to build anew the state of Ahmednagar. But fate called him away to enter the service of Bijapur and to secure a rich Jahgeer in the Karnatik. The constructive work begun by Shahaji was pursued with great vigilance by

Shivaji and his advisers at Poona including his mother Jeejabai. By threats and persuasions he had to curb the Marathas, the turbulent chiefs of Maharashtra; and by tact and real honourable motives, he had to manage the Deccany Muhammadans who, being often led into submission by pious Aurangzeb appealing to their sensitive feelings in favour of Islam, had to reconcile with Shivaji, when their secular interests were threatened by the Moghals. In these distracting circumstances Shivaji struggled hard for thirty-six years; and his real constructive genius and noble motives are to be read not in his victories on the battlefield, but in the creation of a state bound together by law and order and enjoying, on account of the glorious civil institutions of Shivaji, perfect peace and security, then unknown in any part of the Deccan.

It is said that Shivaji did not make a permanent enduring nation. It is believed that without reform in every direction—religious, social, industrial and economical—no nation, can be perfect; and when the first outbreak under Shivaji exhausted the energy of the Maratha nation, it again passed into lethargy. Grant Duff also believes that the rise of the Marathas was like a conflagration of the wild fire, lasting for a short time only. We cannot understand the line of arguments which these writers follow in putting forth such theories. It is true that the Maratha kingdom did not last long. Shivaji died in 1680 and after one hundred years in 1780 we find that the Marathas were not a united nation,

but an Imperial confederacy of powerful Maratha chiefs. Akbar died in 1605 and a hundred years in 1705 we find that the whole fabric of the Empire was torn to pieces and India was on the verge of ruin. If then Akbar claims our respect, we do not understand why Shivaji could not claim the same amount of respect. The ideas of a state have undergone a radical change and if we apply the present principles, not only Shivaji but all the rulers of old India, Hindu or Muhammadan, are not worthy of our praise.

One thing which must be particularly marked by all historians of the world that India is the only country on the surface of the earth, where toleration reigns supreme and individuality asserts itself almost to the detriment of stability in the nation. The effects of toleration are very deeply rooted in the organization of the Hindu society and it is an impossible task for any person, however great, to eradicate these effects and to strike at the root of personal liberty. This being the case, it is not a mistake of Shivaji that he did not try to enforce his authority in matters, social and religious. The appointment of the Panditrao or ecclesiastical minister was a formal one and his jurisdiction did not extend beyond the palace, in fact he acted as chaplain in the royal household and usually as *Danadhyaksha* or minister in charge of alms-giving. Some stray cases might have been referred to him, but they were as a matter of advice and not as matter of legal reference. The governments in India have been purely secular and

Shivaji was not wrong in not attempting a theoretical Hindu Swarajya.

If Shivaji's achievements in the domain of secular government are also considered not enduring we shall have to view Shivaji as a military upstart like Alla-ud-din Khilji or Hyder of Mysore, who created a kingdom for himself soon to be broken after the first vigour of conquest was over. But we see that after the death of Shivaji, Aurangzeb successfully occupied the whole of the Maratha country, still the Marathas as a nation were not subdued. In a foreign land removed far away from their homes, they kept their king and at the first opportunity asserted themselves and defied Aurangzeb. It was due to the fact that the "fire of patriotism kindled by Shivaji" in the heart of every Maratha was not extinguished immediately after his death. Admitting that the Marathas under Shivaji did not create a permanent enduring nation, we cannot determine how far Shivaji was responsible for the same. Those, who say that Shivaji's establishment of Swarajya was due to "a temporary enthusiasm sweeping over the country", will have to point out at least a single institution of Shivaji, whose effects were disastrous and ruinous to the cause of the country. That his successors committed mistakes was not his fault. If there were "rents and holes in the body social" it was the duty of his successors to see that they did not bring ruin on the country. Shivaji never posed himself as a Prophet to construct and organise a new society. He was a

political leader and made his people, as they were, enjoy the benefits of Swarajya.

His political ideal is also not clearly understood by writers. Some say that he was a plunderer, others regard him as a rebel and most believe that his methods were corrupt and that he aimed at an object and adopted any means to gain it. It is true that an ordinary judge in the present age would condemn Shivaji as guilty of plundering. The world has greatly civilized, methods of warfare have been brought under jurisdiction of international law and even international courts. That it was not so civilized 250 years ago is a fact known to a child, and hence the character of a man is to be judged by the standard of good and bad of the period in which he lived. It is incumbent on a judge to apply the principles of international obligations which were considered as such by his contemporaries. All the enemies of Shivaji were actually doing the same, cannot be denied. The raid of Jeysing through the poor hamlets and villages of Mavals when the siege of Purandhar was pressed by Dilir, plundering and devastating by cutting down even standing crops continuously carried on by the Siddis and the Moghal sailors on the coast possessions of Shivaji, capture of innocent beings and their eventual sale as slaves by Dilir Khan the Moghal general—are all the true perspective of war-fare in those days. Shivaji's strict injunctions not to molest agriculturists, women or holy men and his system of espionage by which every soldier was required to account for everything he added to his

possession in the course of a campaign, mark him out as a real reformer and a man of pious benevolence. Plundering of the wealthy living in rich cities, in fact claiming indemnity from them, he practised, while sparing the poor and the needy. The very fact that he allowed, almost till his death, negotiations with the East Indian Company for compensation of the loss done to the Company by his men at Rajapur in 1660 and the eagerness with which the wealthy people of Jalna deposited their possessions with a holy man knowing full well that Shivaji would not molest him, show clearly the magnanimous character of Shivaji, then rarely found in his enemies. Ransoming for the lives of the rich was practised by all, but Shivaji systematically did it and claimed contributions from wealthy citizens. Even this he would justify by saying that when his enemies, by raising taxes, employed large armies to bring ruin on the country, he was right in demanding contributions to defend the poor helpless inhabitants of the Deccan.

There is no justification for the Moghal imperialists and other peoples of the north to say that Shivaji was a rebel. In 1,600 the Moghals commenced their conquest of the Deccan, the rulers and the people opposed them and did not hail the Moghal advance. At the sacrifice of their life and property they offered stern resistance and did not allow the Moghals to have an easy conquest of the country. During a short period of forty years, Akbar could conquer the whole of northern India with more than four times as large as the Deccan in extent and

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population ; but the southern conquest occupied Moghals, under four successive Emperors, for over eighty years and even then the conquest so much burdened the resources of the Empire, though daily increasing by 1,600 onwards, that the strength of the Empire weakened and after the death of Aurangzeb, the whole edifice fell to the ground. Shivaji was one of those—Chand Beet Mallik Ambar, Shahaji and many Muhammadan noble men—who opposed the Moghal encroachments ; and a true national hero, and not as a rebel, he defended his country. With Bijapur his relations were different. Shivaji was a vassal of Adil Shah and to declare independence from him was an act of rebellion. But the kingdom of Bijapur was dying a lingering death and the Moghals were spreading their sphere of influence. In those circumstances it was a question if any one can blame Shivaji because he could not peacefully allow the absorption of Maharashtra in the Moghal Empire and himself did not accept service from them, as his maternal grand-father had done. He usurped independence in his own Jahgeer ; but the Adil Shah court of Bijapur, torn by factions with meagre and ruined resources, had soon to acknowledge his independent position. The central government of Bijapur had no control over the large fiefs under both Hindu and Muhammadan chiefs and Shivaji's wars with these fief holders were, though resented, acquiesced by the court. From the beginning till in 1662 there was a clear understanding between the two, by which both Shivaji and the court remained under relations of friendship and close alliance. Some nobles opposed Shivaji and wanted to ruin him.

and he had to wage occasional wars with these nobles, but he never wished to challenge the central government. After the death of Allī Adil Shah II in 1672 and the accession of the boy Shikandar, the nobles of Bijapur formed factions and fought with each other. The dissolution of the kingdom became apparent and there was no one to consolidate the state and its resources. Meanwhile Shivaji created a strong government with splendid defences and a brilliant machinery of civil government. During the Moghal invasion of 1678-79, he actually helped Bijapur by engaging Dilir Khan round Bijapur and by invading the Moghal possessions in the Godavari valley to cut Dilir's connection with the north.

Besides being charged as a plunderer and a rebel Shivaji is accused of unfairness and crafty diplomatic intrigues. He is said to have made free use of unfair means and even falsehood, or diplomatic trickery as it is called, to gain his objects. The Adil Shahy commandants of forts in Poona and Kalyan districts, who being won over by Shivaji to his views surrendered their forts to him are said to have been bribed by him. Again, whenever a success was achieved by the Marathas, it was attributed by popular rumours to the opposing general being bribed by Shivaji. Even the wise general Bahadur Khan, who was viceroy and commander of the Moghal forces in the Deccan, was not free from this taint, whilst it is a patent fact that he ably defended the Moghal frontier along to Bhima and did not allow the Marathas to secure a footing in the north beyond the river. At the same time his

Wisdom, boldness, dash and prompt designs have been praised by all historians ; and these very qualities gained him immediate success, then misunderstood in the bazar rumours of his days to be due to witchcraft, bribery or treachery. Assuming that a mountaineer like Shivaji was unable to achieve a success against the Moghal or Adil Shahy forces, the people attributed his successes to bribery and other unfair means. For over 300 hundred years before Shivaji the Marathas had been considered as a subject race, not even equal to the Rajputs on account of their poverty, notions of personal freedom and a little rowdy character, and particularly want of decorum and refinement to be seen in the imperial peoples of the north. No wonder that Shivaji and his ministers were objects of hatred and ridicule, when they claimed equality not only with the Rajputs but with the Moghals also. In these hatred and ridicule lies the germ of witchcraft and treachery. The boldness, with which he planned his projects and achieved success, was certainly miraculous in many cases and hence popular rumours in his days attributed it to Divine agency amongst his followers and to Satanic influence in the camp of his enemies. Dastardly attempts to capture or assassinate him were, more than once, made by his enemies ; but on every occasion he escaped from the danger ; and his enemies, being ashamed of their weakness and inability, satisfied themselves by saying that Shivaji was a miraculous man. A superman he was, but not divine nor satanic. What he did he did with honest boldness. Even the night attack on the person of Shaista Khan was a bold attempt to dazzle the imperial

people by a show of personal bravery not to be the easeloving people of the north.

This quality of boldness, free from any timidity, is the real cause of Shivaji's greatness. It is seen in all his actions and even in the actions of his captains, generals and civil officers. Every page of Maratha history is filled with the bold deeds of the people of Maharashtra, who were all inspired by Shivaji's leadership. On the battlefield the personal bravery of individual captains and the dash and energy of Maratha generals are all note-worthy features of their activities. Formation of a new navy and the bold attack of the Maratha admirals to gain possession of the coast speak highly of the super genius of Shivaji. The vigour and boldness, with which the Maratha Subhedars introduced their revenue and other reforms in all parts of the new kingdom, testify to the glory of Shivaji as the founder of the Maratha Swarajya.

